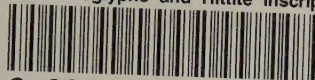


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Conder, C. R.

Altaic hieroglyphs and Hittite inscripti



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ALTAIC HIEROGLYPHS & HITTITE INSCRIPTIONS



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ALTAIC HIEROGLYPHS,

AND

HITTITE INSCRIPTIONS.

BY

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signee*
C. R. CONDER, MAJOR, D.C.L., R.E.,

AUTHOR OF 'TENT WORK IN PALESTINE,' ETC.

NEW AND REVISED EDITION, WITH AN APPENDIX
ON CERTAIN CRITICISMS.

PUBLISHED FOR THE
COMMITTEE OF THE PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND

BY

ALEXANDER P. WATT,

2, PATERNOSTER SQUARE.

1889.

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INTRODUCTION.

THE publication of Captain Conder's letter, addressed to the Chairman of the Committee of the Palestine Exploration Fund, in the *Times* of February 26th, 1887, produced so great and widespread an interest, that the Committee have readily undertaken the publication of the following memoir, in which Captain Conder has developed the theory announced in that letter. They do so in the earnest hope that his labours in the cause of the decipherment of these valuable inscriptions may be accepted, by those who are able to decide, as the first step towards their

complete decipherment. In this, as in all their publications, the Committee beg it to be understood that they put forward this memoir as the responsible work of Captain Conder alone.

W. B.

I, ADAM STREET, ADELPHI,

May 1st, 1887.

AUTHOR'S PREFACE.



THE interest created by the publication in the *Times* of 26th February of a letter to the Chairman of the Palestine Exploration Fund, as to the Altaic hieroglyphics, places me in a somewhat difficult position, since the claims which I then put forward are by no means those which I am apparently thought to have made. It is not to be supposed that a problem which has so long occupied our best Orientalists can be solved at once by one who does not possess their scholarship and knowledge. The Egyptian and Cuneiform systems were not perfectly understood when first discovered; and many long years

of special study have been devoted to their elucidation since the keys to their right understanding were found.

What I felt justified in claiming, what I hope to have done, is to have found a true key* to the reading of the Altaic system, which may be accepted by Orientalists as simple and demonstrable, *and to have identified the language of these texts as belonging to the family of Ugro-Altaic dialects, of which the Proto-Medic and the Akkadian are, perhaps, the oldest known examples.* In the present pages I propose to give my reasons in defence of this thesis, and to show that it is perhaps already possible to grasp the general meaning and character of many of the inscriptions, including the seals. It will

* I am not the first to have discovered the sounds, since some were fixed already by Professor Sayce; but I may be the first to discover approximately the language to which the sounds belong.

require, perhaps, years of special study to develop the work, and to produce final and complete translations. I am prepared to be shown numerous errors ; and I trust to the learning of scholars like Professor Sayce, Mr. T. G. Pinches, Mr. G. Bertin, and others, fully to utilize the key which, with the utmost diffidence, I offer them.

I hope to show *that the symbols are the prototypes whence the Cuneiform system has developed* ;* that they have possibly a common origin with the hieroglyphic system of Egypt, and that it is not impossible that the Chinese characters may have also developed from the original Altaic picture-writing, of which the inscriptions under con-

* When the *Saturday Review* talks of these emblems as 'legs of tables and chairs,' it does, in fact, acknowledge that the general appearance is such as is due to the Cuneiform connection. One emblem (*it*) resembles an arrow, and another (*it*) is perhaps a spear.

sideration seem to me to represent a somewhat advanced stage, yet a stage perhaps more primitive than that of the Egyptian system, and preceding the Cuneiform on the one hand, and the Cypriote syllabary on the other.*

The observations of the scholars whom I quote all seem to tend to such conclusions, and the fact that the proposed identification of the language agrees with the work of the soundest authorities is one of the chief reasons why I feel some confidence that it may be generally accepted by those whose opinion is of weight.†

* A letter signed 'Orientalist,' in the *St. James's Gazette* of the 3rd March, 1887, admits the 'meagre results' attained up to that date by those who had studied the subject. The writer stated that my claims could not be accepted until fully laid before competent specialists, which is, of course, what I desire to do.

† I ought perhaps to state why I have proceeded as I have in publishing this discovery. This memoir will show that I could not have done justice to the method

It is inevitably certain that there must be some errors in the present work ; but if I have only succeeded in commencing the decipherment, I have done all I hope to accomplish.

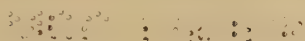
in a short account : had I given only a sketch of the system, misunderstandings and controversies might have arisen, which would have wasted time.

2nd April, 1887.

ERRATA.

On Plates II. and IV., Figs. 5 and 10, the Cuneiform emblem *Su* has been drawn in error with three cross strokes only ; it should have a fourth long horizontal stroke below.

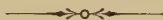
On Plate II., Fig. 8, and page 103, the Cuneiform emblem for 'man' should have a horizontal stroke below.



ALTAIC HIEROGLYPHS

AND

HITTITE INSCRIPTIONS.



I.

HISTORY OF THE DISCOVERY.

IF you go to the farther end of the Assyrian Court, in the British Museum, you will there find half a dozen bas-reliefs and a cast of a sculptured lion, which are labelled as ‘Inscriptions in an unknown character.’ The bas-reliefs were brought from Carchemish, on the Euphrates, by the lamented George Smith. The meaning of the curious symbols on these inscriptions, and the deductions to be drawn from their decipherment, form the subject of these pages.

In the year 1812, Burckhardt, the celebrated traveller, discovered at Hamath, on the Orontes, between Damascus and Aleppo, the first stone inscribed with the symbols of this unknown system of hieroglyphics. In 1870, Mr. J. A. Johnson, American Consul-General, and the Rev. S. Jessup, of the American Mission, found again, in Hamath, Burckhardt's stone, and four others closely resembling it, and, indeed, repeating its inscription in part. A bad copy, by a native, was afterwards published; but the first reliable cast was taken in 1872 by the Rev. W. Wright, D.D., now Secretary of the Bible Society. The stones were afterwards taken to Constantinople, where, in 1882, I visited them in the Museum. Dr. Wright, in 1874, announced his belief that the inscriptions were of Hittite origin; which, in the case of the Hamath and Carchemish stones, can now be shown to be probably true. His theory was received with but scant courtesy by others, who had not given to the subject

either the labour or the learning which he devoted to so startling a suggestion.

In the same year, 1872, my late comrade, Mr. C. F. Tyrwhitt Drake, copied a similar, but much-decayed text at Aleppo; and in 1873 M. Clermont Ganneau published an other copy of the same, made by M. Paucker. In 1874 George Smith copied this text, and discovered the valuable texts at Carchemish in the same characters. Since then the same system has been found to have been used throughout Asia Minor. At Ibreez, north-west of Tarsus, a curious sculpture was discovered by Major Fischer, as early as 1838; and again by the Rev. E. J. Davis in 1876 (see '*Transactions Biblical Archæological Society*,' vol. iv., p. 336). At Karabel, between Smyrna and Sardes, Professor Sayce found, on the bas-relief of the so-called Sesostris, six or seven of the same characters in 1879; and he discovered, at this time, the long-lost companion bas-relief, mentioned by Herodotus, on which also he

found similar emblems. In the same expedition Professor Sayce further copied, on the famous bas-relief of the 'Weeping Niobe,' on Mount Sipylos, near Ephesus, in Lydia, a cartouche in the same character. In 1882 the cartouche of Rameses II. was found on the same bas-relief by Dr. Gollob, a German explorer—a discovery of no small importance, since it serves to give the inferior limit of age for the monument, and to show that the Altaic hieroglyphs are older than the fourteenth century B.C.

The search in Asia Minor was continued by Sir Charles Wilson, K.C.B., in 1880-1882, and by Mr. W. M. Ramsay. At Gurum, in Cappadocia, Sir Charles found two Altaic texts. At Tyana, north-east of Ibreez, Mr. Ramsay, in 1882, copied a text in four lines, differing from those previously known, the characters being incised instead of being in relief. This, judging from the conventionalized style of the emblems, seems to be of comparatively late date.

Farther east, in northern Cappadocia, the same character has also been discovered, at Eyuk and at Boghaz Keui (the ancient Pteria), which ruins were described by Texier before 1849. Correct photographs were published by M. Perrot, in 1862, of the wonderful bas-reliefs at both sites. M. Perrot observed a much-decayed Altaic text, in ten or eleven lines, at Boghaz Keui. Not far off, at the Iasili Kaia, a group, which is specially interesting, though consisting of only four characters, was copied.* In his recent volume on the art of Asia Minor, M. Perrot also gives a copy of a text from Marash, above the figures of a pair of deities, which was discovered, I believe, by Dr. Gwyther.

In 1882 Dr. Gwyther photographed and took a squeeze, at Marash, of the figure of a lion covered with Altaic hieroglyphics. A cast of the same is now in the British

* Perrot, 'Hist. de l'Art,' vol. iv., p. 705. On this we read, *An Set . . .*, 'God Set . . .'

Museum. Finally, in 1885 the Biblical Archæological Society published a drawing of a stone bowl, found at Babylon, round which, on the outside, runs a long Altaic inscription. This also, like the Tyana text, seems to be of late date, since the symbols are very greatly conventionalized, and in some cases approach more closely to the Cypriote than do any of the texts previously noticed.

The next discovery was the existence of the same character on terra cotta seals, and on seals found by Layard at Kouyunjik in 1851. The former were first published by Perrot; and again, in 1885, by the Biblical Archæological Society. These together give twenty-eight inscriptions. M. Perrot, in 1886, published several seal cylinders, which also serve (in one case very curiously) to elucidate our subject. There is no doubt that very many more of these texts exist throughout Asia Minor and Mesopotamia; and they may be expected in Eastern

Armenia, in Persia, Media, and the Caucasus. There is, indeed, no limit to the possibilities of their discovery in Western Asia.

It is not proposed here to enlarge on the unsuccessful attempts made to decipher this character.* All the failures have been useful: have aroused discussion, and have directed us towards the truth. The Rev. Dunbar I. Heath, though he failed to establish his readings of the names of Egyptian kings on the Hamath stones, or his later translation in Hebrew, made many useful suggestions; as did others who made no pretensions to read the riddle. The latest attempt has been made by the Rev. C. J. Ball ('Proceedings Soc. Bib. Arch.,' February, 1887), who endeavours to show that the language is Semitic. I must leave to others to point out the evident faults of principle which vitiate his ingenious but arbitrary method, and will only here remark that

* See note at end.

his paper shows much learning, and contains many suggestive remarks, and some true points of discovery.

The work of Professor Sayce stands, however, in quite a different category to that of other students of the Altaic inscriptions. It is marked by a penetration and originality which others have not equalled; and my discovery is not only a direct result of his work, but would probably also have been impossible had I been unaware of his writings. At the same time he will, I think, concede to me the credit of some independent effort, and I hope will be able to join in the pursuit which now presents itself to the student.

As already noticed, Dr. Wright suggested the Hittite theory in 1874. In 1876 Professor Sayce seems independently to have arrived at the same conclusion, though he did not fully elaborate the theory of a Hittite Empire (a theory which I have never been able fully to follow) until 1880. In 1876 Professor Sayce proposed a comparison of

the Hamath emblems, with the syllabary used by the Greeks in Cyprus, in Caria, and in Lycia, which is now known to have been still employed (among Egyptian Greek settlers) even down to the days of Alexander the Great, or long after the Phœnician and Aramean alphabets had come into use among the Greeks of Asia Minor and of Europe. The copies consulted by Professor Sayce were, however, so imperfect that he felt very doubtful as to many of his proposed comparisons. It appears to me in the light of the present discovery that out of thirty-six symbols he correctly compared eight in all with the Cypriote. (See 'Transactions Bib. Arch. Soc.,' 1877, p. 22.) This was a very important step in advance.

In July, 1880, on his return from Asia Minor, Professor Sayce published a paper, and inaugurated the Hittite Empire by articles in the *Times* and in the *Contemporary Review*. The paper ('Transactions Bib. Arch. Soc.,' vol. vii., pp. 248-308) is full of the most

valuable information, as will be seen in subsequent pages. There can be no doubt that at this time Professor Sayce correctly determined the *ideographic* value of several Altaic symbols. He gave, however, no definite opinion on the language of the Hittites and of the allied tribes, beyond the statement that it was not Semitic—a statement which is demonstrably true, and in which he had been partly forestalled (as early as 1866) by the great French scholar Chabas, when writing on the relations of the Hittites and Egyptians ('Voyage d'un Egyptien en Phénicie en Palestine,' etc., p. 330).

In 1884 appeared Dr. Wright's valuable work, 'The Empire of the Hittites,' in which is collected all existing information, and which has been improved and enlarged in subsequent editions. The copies of the various texts published by the Biblical Archæological Society in the same year Dr. Wright reproduced, and others have since been added. Comparing these copies with

the original stones, I find them faithful, but in a few cases where the symbol is indistinct, or from other reasons, I have discovered that they still need revision.

In Dr. Wright's book Professor Sayce enlarged upon his discovery of a short bilingual text in (so-called) Hittite and Cuneiform which he recognised on a silver boss discovered as early as 1864, and of which two casts—one in the British Museum, one made by the great scholar F. Lenormant—existed. This discovery Professor Sayce had already announced in 1880, and had thence suggested ideographic values for six Altaic symbols. He went on in Dr. Wright's work to suggest sounds for twenty-one symbols, and ideographic values for eighteen symbols. He discarded, however, several of the identifications of sound, which he had (at least so it seems to me) rightly fixed in 1876, and in some cases substituted comparisons which were much less apparent. As regards sounds, I believe Professor Sayce's later

proposals to be correct in five instances. As regards ideographic values (or the meaning of the pictures), I think he is right in about seven cases. In twenty-three cases, however, I think he will admit that his views must be modified. In the case of the ideographs his determinations are of only a general character, whereas my own discovery gives to them a distinct grammatical identification.* The principle which he laid down of comparing the Cypriote with the Altaic was sound; but he only went so far as to suggest a connection with the Georgian language, and laid down that Semitic tongues must be excluded from the inquiry—an important and correct determination.

My own share in this work had so far been

* For instance, what Professor Sayce calls 'determinative prefix of an individual,' I call 'Thou'; his 'determinative of supremacy,' I call 'the firmament'; his 'nominative suffix,' I call *li* or 'to'; his 'dative suffix,' I so consider, giving it the sound *ra*; his 'determinative of Deity' I call *An*, etc., etc.

very slight, though I had carefully followed the labours of others. In the spring of 1881 I discovered the site of Kadesh, the Hittite chief town on the Orontes, and confirmed this discovery by arguments published ('Heth and Moab,' Chapter I.) in 1883, which M. Perrot appears only to have gathered second-hand from M. A. Renan in 1886, but of which I am the original author. The arguments directed against this discovery are easily met; but I was disappointed in not finding any Altaic inscriptions at Kadesh, where I discovered only fragments of Greek texts and Byzantine bas-reliefs, although I sought even in the sacred shrine of Neby Mendeh for older remains. It is probable that excavation at this site, or at the neighbouring ruined enclosure called 'the Ark of Noah,' may yet lead to valuable discoveries.

In 1883 I published a proposed comparison of the Altaic and the Egyptian systems. Dr. Isaac Taylor pointed out to me several errors in this comparison; but my new dis-

covery shows me that in the principle I was right, though in many cases I was quite wrong in detail. Professor Sayce encouraged me in my inquiry, which in a private letter (for we have, I think, never met) he stated to be likely 'to throw light on the values or meanings of many of the characters'—a verdict which is, I think, justified by results, though Dr. Isaac Taylor regards my adherence to this view in 1886 as a 'blot' on my latest work, 'Syrian Stone-Lore.'

In 'Heth and Moab' I inserted a note containing conjectures, the influence of which it is perhaps not difficult to trace in the later writings of other students. The texts should be examined, I thought, without any reference to the theory that they were written by Hittites—a theory as yet incapable of proof, since neither the Hittite language nor the language of the texts was known. They might be Semitic or Egyptian, I thought, and not Hittite at all ; but failing these, there remained one known language for com-

parison (see 'Heth and Moab,' p. 426, 1st edition), namely, the Akkadian; and I suggested the comparison of this Altaic language with the hieroglyphs. I also recorded an opinion on the same page that the origin of the Altaic might be found by comparison with the oldest known Cuneiform symbols—the linear Babylonian. This was, if I remember right, not my own conception, but due to Dr. Isaac Taylor, and it proves to be founded on fact; and although without the Cypriote the discovery of the language would have been impossible, I find, nevertheless, that important additions, and confirmations of my thesis, are obtained by a study of the oldest linear Babylonian symbols—a study which in the hands of experienced and cautious specialists is capable of very great development.

In my latest work, 'Syrian Stone-Lore,' I have devoted some pages to the Hittites (November, 1886), and have stated my belief that they were a branch of the Altaic race

akin to the Akkadians. This opinion I founded chiefly on their Mongolian appearance—as represented in Egyptian pictures—and also on the occurrence of the Akkadian words Tar and Sar for ‘chief’ in their language, as known from Egyptian texts. As to the monuments, I there stated that the script might possibly be that of the Hittites and of kindred tribes, but continued to regard the question as not solved. I again expressed a disbelief in the theory of a Hittite Empire, and a belief in the connection between the Altaic and the Egyptian emblems. I now submit that in these conjectures (though not in others which I have given as alternatives) I am justified, as shown by my recent discovery. I find that Professor Sayce, Dr. Isaac Taylor, and even Dr. Brandis (who with George Smith deciphered the Cypriote), and Dr. Deeke—who, with the preceding, discovered a relation between Cypriote and Cuneiform—are all alike right in principle: that their opinions

do not, as they suppose, clash, but rather supplement each other ; that none of them really exclude my own suggestion of a comparison with the Egyptian, however wrong I may have been in detail—as even Professor Sayce may perhaps have been wrong in detail concerning the Cypriote ; and finally, I find that only one school is really excluded, namely, that which seeks to make the Hittites Semitic, and to read the Altaic inscriptions as if written in a Semitic tongue.

I have, I think, thus fairly summarized the real work done up to the present time, without wasting words over the obsolete conjectures which are no longer useful ; and I must go on to explain how I arrived at the key to reading the Altaic texts. On the 7th February, 1887, I was looking through a collection of Cypriote inscriptions, when I was particularly struck with one which has never (as far as I am aware) been compared with the Altaic, namely, that deciphered as having the sound MI (No. 4, Plate I.). It is

a double triangle, just like the emblem to which Professor Sayce—arguing from the bilingual silver boss—has assigned the value ‘country.’ It struck me that I had already from the Egyptian parallel concluded that the Altaic emblem did mean ‘country’ (‘Syrian Stone-Lore,’ p. 24), and that the sound MI was very close to the sound *Me* or *Ma*, which in the Akkadian, and in the Proto-Medic, represents the word for ‘country.’ This might be a mere coincidence, but I at once saw that it might, on the other hand, be the key to the very language which I had already for three years dimly recognised as that spoken by the Hittites. I continued at once to work out the comparison, and found two cases where a similar connection was traceable. In the Cypriote syllabary I found that PA was a sound represented by an emblem clearly connected, not only with the sceptres borne by Assyrian deities and by the gods of Boghaz Keui, but also with the oldest form of the Cuneiform

symbol for sceptre, which in the Akkadian language is read *Pa*. Again, the high cap which Professor Sayce pointed out as probably meaning 'King,' he has himself connected with the Cypriote emblem for the sound KO. A little reflection suggested that *Kū* is the Proto-Medic word for King, also apparently known in the Akkadian dialect, where Ku means King and 'high'—a cognate idea.*

Confirmed in my conjecture, I collected as many Cypriote emblems as possible for comparison; and, in a few days, I discovered myself in the possession of twenty-one words, the sounds of which (with slight vowel variations) were obtained from the Cypriote sounds,

* The use of the word 'tiara' for 'power' may be illustrated from an Akkadian text published by Lenormant (*W. A. I. iv.*, 3 and 4; 'Magie,' p. 20), supposing his rendering to be correct: 'In the sea, and on the great earth, the tiara has become a very little tiara; the very great tiara his tiara.' The reference is to a demon of sickness, and Lenormant understands this curious phrase to mean, that the 'power' of the demon is decreased.

the meanings from Akkadian or Proto-Medic words, and these meanings found to agree with the evident intention of the pictorial form. To this list (Plate I.) I might add several other sounds, such as the Cypriote O, which represents an 'herb;' while *U* in Akkadian means 'herb;' and others which are treated hereafter in detail, but which are not certain. Taking the twenty-one emblems alone, it is evident that we have a case of the combinations of sixty-three things taken in groups of three (viz., twenty-one cases where 'sound,' 'form,' and 'meaning' must agree), and the chance that the required combination will occur throughout is only one out of the total number of possible combinations. In other words, the chances against me (supposing my comparisons to be really good) were $\frac{1}{\{(63 \times 62 \times 61) \div (1 \times 2 \times 3)\}} - 1$ to 1. The required combination being actually obtained in twenty-one groups of three things, the mathematical chances in my favour become 39,710 to 1.

This result seemed to me to justify my saying to a few friends that I had found the language of the Hittite hieroglyphs. I had found not only a few nouns, but also the sounds MO, ZU, NI, for the pronouns, the word MES, for the plural (not, however, known in Cypriote) and the commoner prefixed, suffixed, and affixed syllables peculiar to this family of agglutinative languages.

I felt justified, therefore, in attributing to distinct symbols, such as the deer's head, the bull's head, etc., sounds of the Akkadian tongue; and from this process further confirmations followed. Thus, for instance, DAR is the Akkadian word for all genera of deer, which was easily reconciled with the value *Tar* required for the first emblem on the silver bilingual boss of 'Tarriktimme, King of the Land of Erme.' About forty sounds could be attributed with some certainty in this manner, giving sixty sounds, out of one hundred and ten quite distinct hiero-

glyphic emblems known on the Altaic inscriptions.*

As regards the remainder, there are some of which the ideographic value is clear, although the proper sound may be open to question. There are others only once or twice repeated, for which, at present, I can only offer conjectures; but this number is gradually diminishing, and in time, with the help of better scholars, we may hope to be able to understand every symbol as yet found.

Among other points, I soon noticed that great assistance was obtainable by observing the oldest forms of the linear Babylonian Cuneiform. This script has long been known to be derived from some hieroglyphic system, and I discovered that in the Altaic we have the true prototypes, which afterwards de-

* The total number of known signs has been reckoned at about 140, but many of these are only variants, used at different times in different localities, whereas others are due to imperfect copying, from the casts, of well-known symbols.

veloped into Cuneiform. I found also that the connection supposed by Dr. Deeke to exist between Cypriote and Cuneiform rests on the fact that they both trace to a common origin—the Altaic hieroglyph. Thus the syllable PI in Cypriote (Plate III., No. 41) is clearly a representation of the ‘ear;’ *Pi* in Akkadian meaning ‘ear’; and the oldest Babylonian Cuneiform emblem for *Pi* being also a sketch of the ear. KHE again—the Cypriote sound (Plate IV., No. 8)—is a rude sketch of a fish, as is the Cuneiform emblem also, which answers to the Akkadian word *Khe* for a fish. This question must be considered more in detail on a later page.

Turning to the comparison with Egyptian, I found, as I had hoped, that great assistance would be obtainable. It was clear that *phonetic* value* in Egyptian was of no as-

* On my plate, ‘Syrian Stone-Lore,’ p. 24, I have compared certain Altaic symbols with letters of the Egyptian alphabet, giving the Hebrew equivalent of the Egyptian letter. I have not, however, in the text ventured to assert

sistance, since the Egyptian and Akkadian languages are not closely related ; but *ideographic* values proved, as I always had supposed, to be alike. Nor was this only in cases like the bull's head, the ram's head, etc., where the picture was still only a picture, for it also holds good in such a case as that of the abstract idea of light. The Altaic emblem derived through the sound of the similar Cypriote emblem (Plate I., No. 6) clearly represents rays descending from the firmament. So does the Egyptian word for light—a point to be more particularly considered later. The reason for this ideographic connection will appear when we come to consider the connection between the Egyptian and the Cuneiform.

It now became possible to get a general idea of the construction of the sentences in

that the Altaic symbol had the same phonetic value, since I could not prove it. I find that this has misled others, and I must suppress the plate in a future edition of the book.

the inscriptions, and to identify certain words. The symbol (No. 9, Plate II.), which Professor Sayce supposed first to mean 'country,' and in 1884 to mean 'deity,' I found, after many trials, to have apparently the latter meaning—which is confirmed by the fact that it is attached to nearly all figures of gods on Altaic monuments as yet known. To this symbol, therefore, I gave the value AN, and soon found that this led to the identification of Ea, Tammuz, Set, Aa, Bil, and other gods, all of whom belong to the old Akkadian Pantheon. This, again, materially strengthened my position.

It remained, however, to prove that the grammar of the inscriptions is that peculiar to the ancient agglutinative languages—Proto-Medic and Akkadian; and I soon found that in this grammar lies the true reason why the inscriptions have never been read before. It has always been assumed that they begin with the verb, whereas in the older Akkadian and Proto-Medic dialects the object should

stand first, followed by the subject, with the verb at the end. As on the first Hamath stone the plural MES follows the first emblem, it is clear that this emblem is a noun; and it is clear also that it is followed by adjectives, some belonging to the object. The grammar, therefore, is that of an agglutinative tongue, and this I was able very soon to prove by the positions of the pronouns, and of the post-positions.

It was not, however, until I had discovered the existence of two cases of the Akkadian 'Amen' at the end of the prayers (on the 23rd February) that I felt to tread on really firm ground. The great complexity of the grammar, even in inscriptions which are presumably of simple construction, renders a translation difficult; and, as far as my reading goes, I gather that the incorporation of syllables in the verbal groups is still a matter of difficulty even to Akkadian specialists. I feel, therefore, little hesitation in announcing my grammatical difficulties,

which are not serious enough to prevent our arriving at the gist of the inscriptions, safely guided as we are by the pronouns and post-positions; and which difficulties will be finally adjusted by Akkadian specialists.

I proceeded to analyse all the known texts before publishing my discovery, which was announced on the 26th February. I found it possible to distinguish several nouns by their occurrence near the beginning of the first line of inscriptions, and several verbs by their occurrence near the ends of the last lines. This process I will now explain in detail, and add some remarks on the grammar. Meanwhile, it is first necessary to lay down general rules, deduced from my own observations, and from those of my predecessors, which must be strictly followed in translation. The beauty of the discovery seems to me, however, to lie in the elasticity of the system combined with its rigid requirements. Each word has only one emblem, each emblem one sound; each suffix, affix, or pronoun, has one

well-known sign, and every emblem represents a monosyllable ; but, on the other hand, we may be prepared for endless symbols representing the nouns or the verbal roots required by the subject, all more or less clearly to be understood. In fact, we see that since no new pronouns or even particles can appear, we ought to be able to read any text found in the future quite as well by this system as we can read those already found. That is to say, all the commonest emblems being known, the gist of the matter should be discoverable. Moreover, we can see why certain symbols survived in Cypriote, while others fell into disuse. The Cypriote syllable was required to consist of one consonant, with a vowel more or less definitely fixed. Words with two consonants—such as *Pal*, *tar*, etc., were not used ; words like *Pa*, *Ku*, *ta*, *mu*, etc., remained in use long after the original meaning of the sounds was forgotten, and were so used by the Greeks to express the sounds of an

Aryan language, quite unconnected with the Altaic. The sounds with double consonants we must trust to obtain from the oldest Cuneiform.

In conclusion of this section, I note that I give the name Altaic* to this script, because it is a comprehensive and safe term. It remains to be shown whether the language is true Akkadian, or nearer (as one might from certain indications suppose) to the allied dialect called Proto-Medic. It may be the mother-tongue whence they both slightly diverged, but it is clearly not Sumerian or Susian. It is allowed, even by very critical scholars, that Lenormant was right in connecting the Proto-Medic and Akkadian with the Ugro-Altaic languages; with Finnish, and less closely with Turkish and Magyar. Altaic is, therefore, a safe term, and the net result of the discovery is, that the hieroglyphs were

* No doubt the script will continue to be popularly known as Hittite, nor does this appear to be a serious misnomer, though hardly scientific.

carved by the early ancestors of those very races which still dwell in Northern Syria and in Asia Minor, as represented by the Turkomans and Turks, mingling, as the Hittites did before them, with the Semitic races of Palestine and Arabia. In fact, my belief that the Hittites are still represented, in Syria and in Palestine, by the Turkomans who are to be found even in the plains of Esdraelon and of Sharon—a belief which I ventured to express three years ago in ‘Heth and Moab’—now appears to be founded on fact, though these actual tribes are later immigrants from the East.

II.

RULES FOR TRANSLATION.

THE following rules arise from the discovery of the language in which the Altaic hieroglyphic texts are written, and from a careful study of the inscriptions :

I. The texts read in lines, as a rule alternately from right to left, and from left to right. *The heads of animals, etc., face towards the beginning of the line.* The rule of alternation is not, however, absolute, as we see from Hamath stone No. V., where lines three and four both read from right to left. As a rule, the first line reads from the right, but not invariably, since at Ibreez the text by the head of the god begins from the left.

II. The position of the emblems shows

their relation, and indicates the grammatical construction. Three (or two) superimposed emblems in the line form, as a rule, one word; and a series of groups followed by a single emblem indicates a 'packet,' so to say, forming one expression. This is in strict accordance with the genius of the agglutinative tongue in question. The 'packets' are well known to Akkadian scholars, and the arrangement is called an 'encapsulation' by Lenormant. A suffix, as a rule, comes at the bottom of the group, a prefix at the top; but this rule is not invariable, as we see by comparing the different arrangement of the same group in the first lines of the Hamath stones, Nos. II. and III. In the one case the *Ni* is at the bottom of the group, in the other at the top of the next group.

III. Certain latitude in consonantal sounds is allowable. Thus we know that in Akkadian, as in Egyptian and in other languages, there was no real distinction of sound between L and R. A comparison of Proto-Medic and

Akkadian shows that there was at an early period no real distinction of D and T, which is also true in Egyptian. It is probable that there is very little real distinction between the gutturals K, G, and Kh (compare Khar and Kur for 'mountain') ; but this of course is not necessary for our reading, though it will prove valuable in tracing the language. B and P are, again, sounds known to be confused in these early languages ; the soft T and S seem also perhaps to be indistinguishable.

IV. A certain latitude in vowel sounds is also allowable.* O and U blend, as do A and E, or E and I. This is not peculiar, since any who have lived among half-civilised people (as one may learn in Syria, Egypt, or Bechuana-land) must become aware of the indefinite character of the vowel sounds. We learn

* The vowel sounds obtained from Cuneiform for the Akkadian cannot, I should suppose, be considered fixed with strict exactitude, and there is also in Cypriote a certain slight latitude allowable.

the same from the fact of the very late introduction of vowel points in Hebrew and in other Asiatic written languages. The exact vowel sound in the Akkadian (as usually identified) need not, therefore, be expected in the present accepted sounding of the Cypriote syllables. This will, I think, be conceded.

V. There is no double system of determinatives and syllabic sounds, as in Egyptian. The nouns and verbal roots, however, retain their original pictorial character more closely than do the grammatical signs, pronouns, post-positions, etc.

VI. The grammatical construction is that of the older Akkadian and Proto-Medic, not of the Susian or Sumerian. Such, at least, is my conclusion from a study of the texts.

VII. It seems probable that the same symbol may give the inverted vowel sound *En* and *Ne* for instance, or *Ar* and *Ra* (as in

the symbol *Ra* or *La*, which reads *Ar* on the silver boss).

VIII. The important words—nouns and verb roots—are apparently distinguished by larger emblems than the grammatical syllables prefixed or following ; on the same principle on which Kings are represented in Egypt and Assyria as giants compared with their captives or servants.

IX. Finally, it is to be noted that emblems which are alike, but not identical, are to be distinguished carefully. They have often a cognate meaning, but I am convinced that no stroke on the inscriptions was made in vain. Although the meaning of small additional strokes or characters may escape us at first, a careless reading and confusion of distinct emblems must lead us wrong ; and for this reason exact copies are indispensable, and are more easily made when a knowledge of the language has been attained.

An additional stroke often occurs on one side of symbols, which, in other cases, are

without it. This is certainly not accidental, and I think it denotes the end of a clause, or of a packet. It may be compared with the stroke dividing the clause in Cuneiform.*

* I find just before going to press that Professor Sayce has made a similar suggestion already.

III.

THE COMMONER SYMBOLS.

THE constantly recurring symbols which have as yet formed an obstacle to the reading of the texts now serve to facilitate their understanding. Their values can be determined from the Cypriote, and their meanings from Proto-Medic and Akkadian. To begin with the personal pronouns.

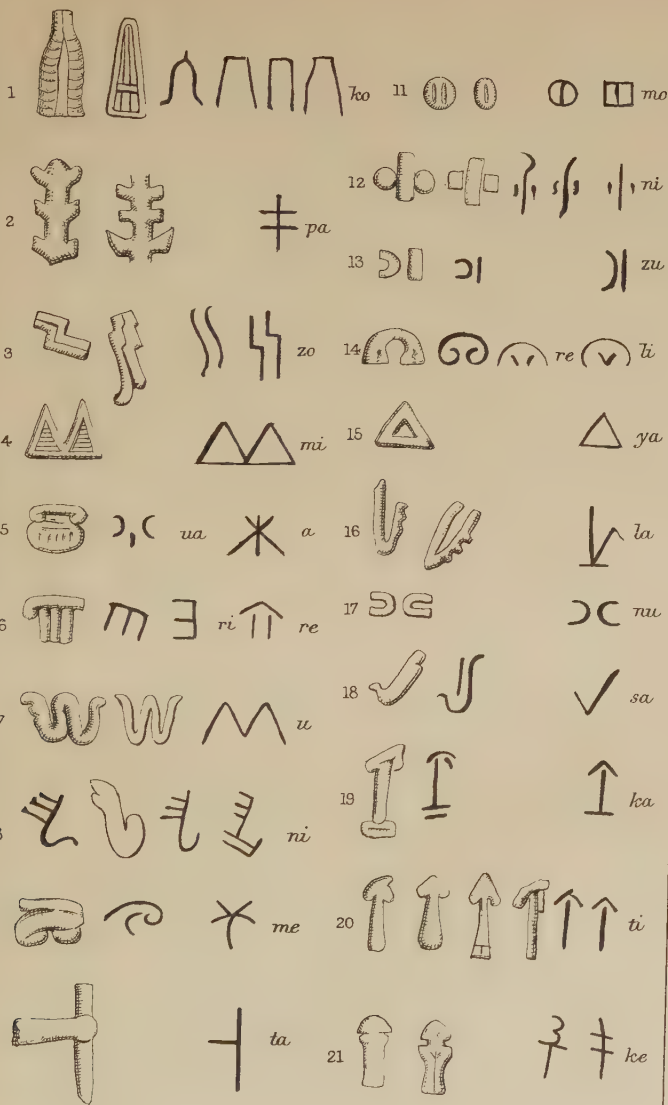
1. MO (Plate I., No. 11) is clearly the Akkadian *Mu* for 'I.' A study of its occurrence in twenty-four distinct cases shows seven cases in which it is apparently prefixed at the top of a group, and seventeen in which it is suffixed. In Akkadian the prefix is the personal pronoun 'I,' the affix is the possessive pronoun 'my' or the accusative 'me;' the

suffix also serves to form the passive voice. Instances—*Mu-ru*, 'I build;' *Adda-mu*, 'my father;' *Ru-mu*, 'builds me,' or 'I am built.' For this sign there is a slight variant form at Jerablus, which has, however, I think no variation of meaning. This important word has never been recognised as a pronoun in any previous system, as far as I am aware.*

2. ZU (Plate I., No. 13) seems clearly to be the second pronoun. It is, I think, invariably found as a prefix; and Professor Sayce called it the determinative of persons, which is in a sense true if it represents 'Thou.' In one or two instances it is found in duplicate, which might be thought to represent the plural; but the Akkadian plural 'Ye' appears to be (according to Lenormant) *Zu nene*, and the group *Zu Zu* must apparently mean 'Thou Thou,' which is quite possible in an invocation.

3. NI (Plate I., No. 12).—This is perhaps

* It may perhaps also stand in some cases for *Um* as a subjunctive prefix.



the commonest of all the Altaic symbols, and inevitably so if it is connected with the Akkadian sounds *Na* and *Ni*, which are of peculiar importance. For the study of this symbol I collected in a table forty-eight cases of its occurrence in groups of two or three symbols. In twenty-four cases I found it occurring at the top of the line ; but it is not by any means always a prefix in such cases, since it is often a suffix of the preceding group, the symbol below it being a conjunction, post-position, or pronoun. In some cases it is, however, clear that it must be the governing personal pronoun 'He,' or even the demonstrative 'This,' as is the case also with the Akkadian *Bi* ('he' or 'this'), and its parallels in Finnish, Turkish, Proto-Medic, etc. The group MO-NI, 'I-him,' is found preceding a verb on the Altaic hieroglyphs, and this combination may perhaps sometimes denote the prefix *Mun*, an impersonal indicative. In eighteen cases the sign NI appears at the bottom of

the group, and in six only is it in the middle out of the above-mentioned collection of forty-eight groups. The commonest position is consequently that of a post-position, and this is explained by the fact that in addition to its value as a pronoun it has probably a case value. In Akkadian it appears that *Na*, as a post-position, marks the ablative; and it serves, as it were, to place a noun in the accusative or objective (*e.g.*, *Dam-Kina*, 'Wife earth from,' the earth-wife or earth-goddess, where *Ki*, 'earth,' becomes in the genitive case); this use of the Altaic symbol seems often to give good sense. I cannot understand why Professor Sayce, who began by identifying the sound of this symbol with the clearly identical Cypriote *Ni*, afterwards deserted this position in favour of a very doubtful similarity to *Yi*, giving to this important word the value *e* or *i*; unless he supposed the frequent occurrence of the sound *Ni* to be improbable, whereas in Akkadian it is one of the commonest sounds.

As regards the ideographic value of the two preceding symbols there is little to say; but I think *Ni* is clearly of Phallic origin, and represents 'the male,' a conception which, as the original picture-writing developed into the system under consideration, was modified into the more abstract idea of the personal pronoun 'He.' There are a few cases where *Ni* stands over the heads of a bull, ass, ram, or other male animal. I am not sure how this would best be explained in Akkadian,* but it seems to me that the emblem here forms an abstract or possessive—*e.g.*, *NiSet*, 'Set-ish'; *Ni-Gut*, 'bull-like.' In the inscription behind the King or Priest at Ibreez we must begin clearly with *Ni* on the right, since we have a suffix on the extreme left. In this case *Ni* appears to mean 'This person,' or simply 'He.'

The plural 'They' in Akkadian is repre-

* *Ni* prefixed in Akkadian forms the verb—*e.g.*, *Nigin*, 'to surround,' a verb from *Gin*, 'enclosure,' and this appears also to be the case in our inscriptions.

sented by *Nene*, and a reduplication of *Ni* may probably give the Altaic symbol; but of this I have not yet found a case.

4. LI (Plate I., No. 14).—Clearly the Cypriote *Re* or *Li*, and clearly a suffix in the Altaic hieroglyphs. Professor Sayce calls it the nominative suffix *es*, thus deserting his older correct identification from the Cypriote, in favour of a linguistic necessity which has perhaps no real existence. In Akkadian *li* is a post-position which forms the dative and the instrumental cases, and also, apparently, the adverb. The nearest English word for general use seems to be 'to' or '-ing.'

5. KA (Plate I., No. 19).—This is a highly important suffix, clearly the Cypriote *Ka*, and apparently the Akkadian *Ku* which forms the case of motion, and is rendered apparently 'for' or 'towards.' This sign, which occurs at the end of nouns in many cases, seems to bear the meaning 'towards,' and might be conjectured to represent a sign-post. It appears often to belong to a word-

packet of several adjectives or adverbs, and is not repeated with each, but stands, it would seem, at the end of a clause. There are slight variations in its form; but it is always distinguished by the base on which it stands, and by the penthouse head.

6. TI (Plate I., No. 20).—This is also a suffix, but not as commonly used as the preceding. It seems to be the Akkadian *Ta*, a locative suffix meaning ‘to’ or ‘in.’ It is observable that when several of these postpositions occur together *ti* rarely stands last of the group, as far as I have been able to observe. It may have a connection with the Akkadian *id* for ‘one.’

7. IT (Plate I., No. 20).—This symbol is very like the preceding, but not identical, apparently, either in position or in form. Whereas TI or *ta* seems to be possibly a spear, IT, with its broadened end, looks more like an arrow, and it has apparently a barbed head. It seems frequently to stand alone or as a prefix, and may therefore be compared

with the prefix *id* in Akkadian, or *it* in Proto-Medic, the preformants of locality as Lenormant calls them.

8. RA or LA (Plate I., No. 16).—This sign long puzzled me, yet the comparison with the Cypriote *La* is clear enough. Professor Sayce seems to regard it as a dative suffix, though he groups it with two other characters which have, I think, different shapes and values (viz., *Sa* and *Pal*). As I have said before, there is no real distinction which can be made between *Ra* and *La* in Akkadian. *Ra* is the Akkadian post-position for the dative, and the same syllable incorporated in the verb gives a reciprocal or co-operative meaning, as does also the Proto-Medic *ir*. In the Altaic texts this syllable seems to occur with both nouns and verbs. The original object may have been a whip, such as some figures on the monuments of Asia Minor seem to carry. The lash points towards the beginning of the line, which distinguishes this sign from the next. In

confirmation of this reading we find, I think, on the silver boss the same emblem, where the syllable *Ar* or *Ra* should occur, in the name of the country Erme. The lash points the same way; but this indication I do not find noticed by Professor Sayce, though he gives the value *er* to his supposed dative suffix.

9. SA (Plate I., No. 18).—This phonetic value was established by Professor Sayce in 1876, though he abandoned it in 1884; and it seems to me that he connects No. 9 with No. 8 in an unnecessary manner. The exact distinction between this post-position and *Ti* is slight: *Sa* is not an infrequent terminal suffix in Akkadian, and the nearest English word seems to be ‘in’ or ‘with.’

10. KE (Plate I., No. 21).—This syllable is peculiar in respect that it occurs reduplicated before verbs, giving the sound *Keke* or *Kek*. Professor Sayce has always identified it with one form of the Cypriote *Si*; but this I could not see my way to follow, because of

the base of the *Si* which is not found in the Altaic figure. A further study of the Cypriote *Si* shows us that the normal form has no stem, and I am convinced that the original emblem, whence the Cypriote *Si* derives, was a human eye not yet known in the Altaic texts. This agrees with the value of the Akkadian sound *Si*, which means, I believe, an eye.

To return to No. 10, there is a form of *Ke* in the Cypriote which is tolerably close to the Altaic emblem. The value of *Ke* gives us remarkably good sense, since we can then read *Keke* as equivalent to the Akkadian causative prefix to the verb, viz. *Kak*. From this discovery I was able to identify the 'Amen' at the ends of some of the stones* and

* *It-ka-ti-kek-me*, 'Cause to be,' on the Hamath stones. Compare the *Kek-ti-mu*, 'Cause to me,' on the third Jerablus stone; and the forms on the Babylonian bowl, *Kek me*, 'Cause to be,' and again *Kek mu*, 'Cause me.' This word *Kek-me* is apparently the *Kakama*, which Lenormant tells us is the termination of the Akkadian prayers, or charms, which begin with *En*, as do the

on the Babylonian bowl, where two '*Kek's*' divide the text into two equal halves, occurring at the opposite ends of a diametric line through the bowl.

This prefixed position of the symbol *Ke* also agrees with the use of the 'prefix of position' *Ki* in Akkadian, on which M. Bertin has learnedly discoursed. The nearest English word is 'as,' and the adjective may be formed by this prefix: *Ke* over a ram's head meaning 'as a ram,' or 'like a ram.' Thus, although the Cypriote comparison is not as close as in some other cases, I feel confident that the value *Ke* is correct; *Ke* also occurs affixed to nouns, forming, apparently, the adjective or perhaps the agent, like the Akkadian *ik*. The identification with *Si* was perhaps one of Professor Sayce's main obstacles in discovering the language of the Altaic hieroglyphs.

Hamath stones. *Kakama* is in Assyrian translation rendered by the word 'Amen,' *Amanu*, and means evidently 'So be it.' Cf. 'La Magie,' p. 15.

The emblem called GA in my transliteration will be mentioned later. It seems to mean 'belonging to,' and occurs most frequently as a nominal affix.

We may now pass on from the consideration of these valuable pronouns and particles, which together serve to determine our language as agglutinative and as akin to Akkadian, and glance at the identification of the plural, the conjunction, the intensitive, the chief auxiliary verbs of action and of motion, and the compulsive voice, all of which serve to make firm the ground under our feet.

No. 11. MES (Plate II., No. 14).—This is not known in Cypriote, but Professor Sayce, from the bilingual boss, attributed to this emblem the value *me*. He also (I think incorrectly) connected it with the Cypriote *mo*, which we have seen to mean 'I.' The emblem now under consideration has no connection with the normal form of *mo*. It is of its essence that it should be regarded as consisting of two or four parallel strokes.



A comparison of several occurrences of a special group meaning 'fire,' shows us that the four strokes, in some instances, are equivalent to the two strokes each with a line down the middle in others—the difference is one of individual sculpture only. Now Professor Sayce has pointed out that *es* and *mes* are frequent terminations in Alarodian names. In Akkadian *mes* means 'many,' and as a suffix forms the plural (*e.g.*, '*adda*,' father, and '*addames*,' fathers); and we thus at once see that the four strokes mean 'number' or 'many,' suggesting an original condition when the race could only count three, and when more than three was 'multitude' (compare the Sechuana language in South Africa, and the researches of Sir John Lubbock into this interesting question). I have proposed to compare this emblem with the Cuneiform sign for the plural, consisting of four horizontal strokes and the vertical stroke which is used to divide clauses. (See Plate IV., No. 10.)

We have, therefore, in this sign the plural for nouns, and we see that the incorrect comparison with the Cypriote *mo* has been an obstacle to decipherment.

No. 12. E or A (Plate II., No. 11).—This is only a provisional sound, but I think it will prove correct.* No exact equivalent is known in Cypriote. The emblem is always small, and appears to connect the clauses. I regard it therefore as a conjunction, and it seems to be used as a syllable for the short *A* or the short *E*. Professor Sayce gives it a value not founded on any comparative basis, and apparently too important for its small size and constant recurrence. I propose to compare this symbol with the Cuneiform sign for the conjunction.

No. 13. NE (Plate I., No. 17) may be compared with the Cypriote *Nu*; but it is not, apparently, the Akkadian negative *Nu*, as

* For instance, it gives *Eri* on the Hamath stones, and $\bar{E}e$, or $\bar{E}a$. The Cuneiform *va* might come from it. In Akkadian *ua* is 'and,' but the sign compared is the Assyrian *va*.

far as I can see, because it seems to be an affix to nouns, not a prefix. It is rather, I think, to be regarded as an intensitive *Ne* or *en* (compare the form *An* and *Anna*, 'God,' and 'very God,' in Akkadian). I feel, however, that further study by specialists may improve on this suggestion; but the small size and frequent occurrence of the emblem seem to show that it cannot have the value of a noun or verb, while Professor Sayce's suggestion that it is a plural seems to be excluded by what has been said about No. 11, *Mes*. In Akkadian the sound *En* is rendered 'jusqu'à' by Lenormant ('Magie,' p. 319.)

No. 14. MA or ME (Plate I., No. 9) was identified by Professor Sayce, in 1880, with the human hand grasping, and with the Cypriote *to*. I am not quite certain on this point, but of the grammatical value of the symbol I feel little doubt. It appears to stand for 'make,' or 'be;' and it is well known that in Cuneiform the hand is the original emblem of 'power'—as indeed in

all ancient symbolism. These facts seem to agree together, and to give us the verb 'make,' or 'be,' which agrees with the occurrence of the emblem in question as part of the last group on the fourth Hamath stone, where it seems to form the verb root preceded by the causative *Kek*. I have proposed to compare this emblem with the Cypriote *Me*.

In Akkadian the verb *me* signifies to be ;* the Cypriote emblem for *ma* may, perhaps, be the correct parallel. Professor Sayce, in 1876, compared this emblem with the Cypriote *ma*, but in 1880 with *to*.

We may here note that *verbs of action in Altaic hieroglyphs are denoted by various attitudes of the hand or arm*. When we look at Assyrian bas-reliefs we see the same. The king's hand is held in the position whence, perhaps, the Cypriote *Ni* (Plate I., No. 8) develops ; (15) and *Ni*, in Akkadian,

* See M. Bertin's note on the prefix *Mi* for the future. ('Trans. Bib. Arch. Soc.,' viii., p. 244.)

means apparently 'protection,' giving us the value for the original Altaic emblem. (16) The raised hand might be compared with one form of the Cypriote *te*, and *te* we know to mean 'to raise' in Proto-Medic. (See Plate II., No. 7.) The hand raised in adoration means, therefore, 'worship.' The hand with the palm towards the mouth, and the fingers raised (Plate III., No. 36), when joined to a human bust, forms, I believe, the noun *En*, for prayer; and when alone, possibly the root 'pray.' If we look at the Assyrian bas-reliefs we see that suppliants (whether captives or worshippers) always have the hand in this attitude. We see it also on the cylinders and on modern Persian paintings; and I can give evidence that in Syria a peasant who comes to ask a favour always still approaches his superior with both hands raised to his mouth in exactly this attitude. I feel, therefore, no doubt as to the meaning of this important emblem. (17) The hand pointing downwards will evidently mean

‘down,’ or ‘descend,’ and I think it must be connected with the linear Babylonian emblem having the value *du* for ‘descend,’ and probably with the various forms of the Cypriote *to* (Plate II., No. 4). (18) The extended hand may be compared, perhaps, with the Cypriote *Se*, and with the Cuneiform emblem of the hand, and appears, perhaps, to mean ‘give.’ *Se*, in Akkadian, I believe I am correct in saying, has this meaning. (See Plate II., No. 5.) (19) The hand in the position of holding an object possibly means ‘bestow,’ and should be read in this case *si*, if Lenormant is right. It perhaps resembles one form of the Cypriote *ti*, though of this I do not feel sure. (See Plate III., No. 59.)

No. 20. DU (Plate III., No. 44), the foot pointing towards the beginning of the line, seems to mean ‘come’ and ‘become.’ We may compare the Egyptian emblem for ‘come,’ as contrasted with its opposite ‘go’—a pair of feet in each case in opposite direction. (21) When the foot points the other

way the emblem will consequently perhaps mean DE, or 'go.' (22) The duplication *dudu* gives us the form 'come often,' which some Akkadian scholars seem to call the frequentative, while in other cases *dudu* is rendered apparently 'make go' or 'expel.' (23) The leg, which I have only noticed in three or four cases (Jerablus iii., line 2) may have a distinct value, and recalls the Cuneiform emblem *Su*, which as early as 1878 Professor Sayce showed to be derived from an old hieroglyphic leg. (24) On the same text (line 4) we have two legs in the attitude of 'running,' and the context of the passage, when compared with a well-known Akkadian magic text, shows us that this emblem (not found elsewhere) means probably 'run.'

No. 25. TA (Plate I., No. 10).—The value is obtained from the Cypriote. The meaning is clearly 'compulsion,' and identical, as I pointed out in 1883, with the Egyptian emblem of the hand and stick, which has the

same meaning. It occurs with the syllable *ni*, affixed (Hamath I., line 3, and II., line 3) which may be read *tani*. In Akkadian *tan* is a verbal prefix for 'Causation,' which agrees exactly; when standing alone it may be taken to mean 'force,' and with *ni* to mean 'compel.'

No. 26, a hand with a sceptre, has a somewhat cognate meaning, and I take it to mean 'rule,' or 'honour.' It should be noted that the club or sceptre with a round head, and held just below its head, occurs in the hand not only of a deity at Marash, but also of King Shamash Pul on his bas-relief in the British Museum. The ordinary club (*dabbûs*) used in Syria has this shape, and is usually held just under the knob.

No. 27. The hand with a knife (Plate III., No. 51) seems clearly to mean *bat*, or 'slay,' and may be the original of the simple Cuneiform emblem for *bat*, 'to slay.' (Plate IV., No. 6.)

No. 28 (Plate III., No. 47), a head like

an umbrella-handle, seems clearly to be a root, and it occurs at the end of the fifth Hamath stone. Professor Sayce gives it the value *Kue* or *Mes*, and the meaning 'to worship.' I think, however, it may be taken to mean 'word,' or 'call,' although I do not feel that this is as yet demonstrated. Provisionally, therefore, we may give it the value *gu*, 'word.'

No. 29. Another important emblem (Plate II., No. 3) looks like a small herb, and is the same shape with the common Cypriote *Te*. I believe it to represent the Akkadian *De*, 'to move,' 'grow,' or 'live,' as in the well-known expression, *Kur-nu-de*, generally rendered 'land of no return,' but, perhaps, better, 'land of no movement'—the country of the dead being so named. The sprouting herb is a natural emblem for 'growth.'

The remainder of the common emblems require less notice. The nouns represented by animals' heads are easily recognised

‘bull,’* ‘deer,’ ‘ram,’ ‘sheep,’ ‘ass,’ and, I think, ‘dog;’ also the ‘hare’ and the human face (*Sak* or *Ka* in Akkadian).† The ram’s head is specially important, meaning, apparently, when used as a verb root with *Ni* prefixed, ‘to oppose’ or ‘fight’—in fact, ‘to ram.’ It may be noted that the sort of wig worn on the head recalls the dressing of the hair among the Hittites and on the Assyrian bas-reliefs. The head with long ears and the tongue out we shall find to mean ‘demon.’ The head with a long thin neck I conjecture to stand for ‘soul,’ as it occurs on texts when the head without a neck is also represented.

* The bull’s head is common at Jerabis. The words *Gut* and *Khar* stand for ‘bull’ in Akkadian. There is, perhaps, a connection with *Gud*, for ‘firm,’ or ‘strong,’ that being the usual meaning of ‘bull,’ as used in Egyptian of heroes, etc., just as *Aleph* is used of a prince (duke) in the Bible. The deer is *Tar*. The ram I suppose to be *Lu*; but this is only provisional, as *Lu-nit*, ‘male sheep,’ is the present reading of ram in Akkadian.

† The animal heads are also used apparently in the abstract with *Ni* prefixed: Bull for ‘might,’ ram for ‘fight,’ hare for ‘swift,’ deer for ‘noble,’ etc., etc.

The king's head may be read perhaps *Ku*, or perhaps *Sar*, but the meaning is the same, *Sar* being an Akkadian term for a 'ruler,' adopted afterwards in Egypt and among Semitic peoples. As to the eagle, ZU, we must speak later, as also concerning the lozenge-shaped TAM.

One of the common noun emblems is the pot, which I propose to identify with the sound $\bar{A}$, for water. The Cypriote $\bar{a}$ has many shapes, and the various forms of the Cypriote *Va* (see Plate I., No. 5) all suggest a connection. In 1883 I compared this symbol with the comparatively rare Egyptian emblem for water, used in a group of three pots, with *pet*, or 'heaven,' to mean 'the waters above the firmament.' I see no reason to repent of this, though the Egyptian phonetic value, *Nu*, has no connection, the relation being purely ideographic. I have adhered to the same idea in 'Syrian Stone-Lore' (p. 24). It may be objected that the pot occurs very frequently; yet we have

texts (Jerabis, No. 2, and Hamath, No. 2) where it never occurs. It forms the chief constituent of the name of a god, and we have a cylinder (that of Naram Sin, son of the mythical Sargina) where the water-pot occurs as an emblem probably of the god $\bar{A}$. Holy water was an important feature of Akkadian magic, whence the use of magic bowls, like that of Babylon, as we shall observe later.* At Ibreez the pot occurs with the verb *ra*, to 'flow;' and taking these facts into consideration, we may feel toler-

* We read in the 'Descent of Istar,' and in the 'Legend of Gisdubar,' about the 'Water of life' in Hades. Lenormant remarks that water, according to the Akkadians, was the source of all life. We must remember that Mesopotamian cultivation depended on the rivers, and that Carchemish and Hamath stood on great rivers. We must also not forget that the Hittites swore faith to Rameses II. by the rivers as gods, and that Ea, the god of rain and water and ocean, and of the celestial ship or ark, was one of their chief deities. We must recall the passage ('W. A. I.,' iv., iii. 2) about 'magic waters' curing sickness, and ('W. A. I.,' iv., xvi.) about the demon who 'raises his head against the propitious waters of Ea.'

ably secure as to this emblem. Professor Sayce's comparison with the Cypriote O seems to me less happy than some of his identifications, and that emblem is, I think, rather to be assimilated to the Akkadian *u*, or 'herb,' since it resembles a plant. It is not likely that so large an emblem as this pot can be other than a noun or verb root. There are other varieties of vase to be noted in analyzing the inscriptions, which seem to refer to 'oil,' or some such offering, and which must be distinguished from the common emblem.

The symbol $\bar{E}$, or house (Plate III., No. 23), is clear enough. There are forms of the Cypriote E which approach it, and the Cuneiform symbol is almost the same. (See Plate IV., No. 3). Two doors are represented, while in the Egyptian parallel emblem we have only one. This house occurs as the name of a god, evidently *Ea*, the god of the 'heavenly house.' In one case the house seems to have little

wings, like those of figures found at Carchemish (for Akkadian angels, it seems, had wings like ours); these may, however, be pathways. At Ibreez we have a different form, representing a temple with a cella, just as in part of the linear Babylonian emblem for 'mother.'*

Another common emblem appears to me to be an altar with a fire on it, which may be compared with the Egyptian. I do not suggest any phonetic value, but take the sense to be 'offer,' or 'sacrifice.'

The sword or knife (Plate III., No. 29) we may read *Pal*; it seems to be a noun.

Other emblems may be left to the section in which the Cuneiform connection is discussed. As to the *throne* (Plate V., No. 2), we know that in Egypt it was an

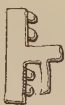
* The idea of the emblem for 'mother' in linear Cuneiform is 'Temple of the Germ,' which is shown within, while another emblem adjoins. I believe the idea to be purely Phallic, and not the subtle abstraction suggested by Mr. Houghton.

emblem of deity, and in Cuneiform it has the value *id*, or 'power.' It may be rendered provisionally 'holy,' or 'majesty.' The Altaic emblem resembles the sort of gridiron on which the gods appear seated on some cylinders, and whatever the phonetic value may be, we cannot hesitate as to the ideographic. The identification as a throne was proposed to me in 1883 by Professor Sayce, and we have a very clear instance since for comparison on the lion of Marash.

The sacred tree (apparently to be read *Shar*) and another tree will be discussed later. The emblem ZO (Plate I., No. 3) is identified from the Cypriote by Professor Sayce; and we know that *Zu* and *Zi* in Akkadian mean 'life,' or 'spirit.' I think the emblem represents lightning, and that we here see that the Persian idea of 'essential fire' as the vital principle (which Renouf has proved to be also a very old Egyptian belief) was inherited from Medes or Akkadians, whence it also passed into Phœnician

philosophy, and so to the Greeks. As to the serpent U (Plate I., No. 7), I feel no doubt, though Professor Sayce has deserted this belief in consequence of the study of one of the later hieratic forms of this emblem. The figure on the first Hamath stone cannot be anything but a serpent (line 3), nor can that on the terra-cotta seals; and on the Marash lion the form is not the flattened hieratic emblem of the Babylonian bowl. Exception may be taken to the Cypriote comparison, but even if the phonetic value—which in the case of the god's name gives us the value *Anu**—be incorrect, we know what the serpent means; for Renouf shows in a convincing manner that the snake or dragon in Egypt is the emblem of a 'cloud'; and the Altaic god is, therefore, the sky or cloud deity—which, by-the-bye, is just the character of the Assyrian Anu. The snake was also an emblem of Ea, as we know from cylinders

* Anu was a Semitic god—the Akkadian Anna.

22		<i>ar</i>	35		<i>Dim</i>	49		<i>Te</i>
23		<i>ē</i>	36		<i>En</i>	50		<i>To</i>
24		<i>Gut</i>	37		<i>Pak</i>	51		<i>Bat</i>
25		<i>Lig?</i>	38		<i>Sak</i>	52		<i>Li</i>
26		<i>Lu?</i>	39		<i>ă</i>	53		<i>Mal?</i>
27		<i>Mas?</i>	40		<i>Re</i>	54		<i>Bil</i>
28		<i>Mes</i>	41		<i>Pi</i>	55		<i>Ku?</i>
29		<i>Pal</i>	42		<i>Si</i>	56		<i>Sū</i>
30		<i>Tar</i>	43		<i>ul?</i>	57		<i>Nim?</i>
31		<i>Tak</i>	44		<i>Du</i>	58		<i>(Se)'</i>
32		<i>Shar</i>	45		<i>De</i>	59		<i>(Si?)</i>
33		<i>Zu</i>	46		<i>Ma</i>	60		<i>Set</i>
34		<i>Tam</i>	47		<i>Gu</i>	61		<i>Zin</i>
			48		<i>Ky</i>			

and from magic Akkadian texts. Ea and Anna were closely akin as gods of sky and of water.

The cross occurs, though not often (Jérablus, i. 4, and ii. 6), and I believe it to mean 'bless.' This is not a mere speculation.* We have portraits of Assyrian kings as early, at least, as 900 B.C., with the cross hung round the neck as a beneficial emblem; and the diffusion of this emblem in India and in Egypt shows us how ancient and universal was its pre-Christian use—concerning which volumes have been written.

A fleur-de-lis-shaped emblem, to be noticed later, seems to me possibly connected with the Cypriote *lo*, and to signify 'male,' or 'strong'—the Akkadian *ul*, connected with *lu* or *ru*, 'a man,' in Akkadian. (Plate III., No. 43.)

Another figure, apparently a radical (Plate

* We have an Akkadian two-headed god holding out a cross towards his worshippers, on a cylinder which Perrot calls Hittite, 'Hist. de l'Art,' iv., p. 771.

III., No. 56), seems to represent some sort of bundle, and may be compared with a similar Egyptian figure. It may be equivalent to the idea of 'binding,' and have the value *Sû*, to 'constrain.' It would in this case be connected with the old idea of the spell which binds (Akkadian *As*), and this seems to make sense in the texts in five or six cases. I have proposed to connect it with the Cuneiform emblem for *As*, a 'spell.' (Plate II., No. 13.)

A peculiar kind of sceptre with a flower-bud top (Jerablus iii., line 3), long puzzled me; but it means apparently 'life,' as we shall see in treating of the Cuneiform.



Fig. 1.

A few other symbols, some of which are more doubtful, may be noted. That here shown occurs on the third Hamath stone,

line 1; and in exactly the same group on the fifth Hamath stone, line 3. The Cypriote emblem *She* is not quite the same. *Shi*, in Akkadian, means a 'horn,' and the Altaic emblem might be an antler, which would agree with the context.



Fig. 2.

The next is somewhat like the Cypriote *Ky*, and I conjecture that it may mean 'exalt,' being apparently a root, and reminding us of the Hebrew expression, 'his horn shall be exalted;' but a better explanation may be found later.*

The next cannot be the Cypriote *Pi*, which is turned the other way; but it resembles

* Compare the Akkadian *Aka*, meaning 'exalt.' On the fifth Hamath stone we have this twice in one group, *Ky-sa*, *Ky-sa*—perhaps a sort of *Selah*, as in the Psalms. It seems also to occur at the end of the fourth Hamath stone, though the cast is not clear.

closely one form of the Cypriote *Ka*, and seems to have a value as an affix. This, I believe, should be read *ka* or *ga*, meaning 'belonging to,' which forms the adjectives of



Fig. 3.

possession in Akkadian, often used for a genitive: and when it occurs in the group *ke-ga* we must, I think, compare *akku* (Akkadian), *ukku* (Proto-Medic), for 'great,' and the Susian prefix *gik* for 'great.'

The next is certainly the Cypriote *le* or *re*, and clearly, I think, the Akkadian *re* or *ra*, 'to flow;' which is quite distinct from *ri*, 'to

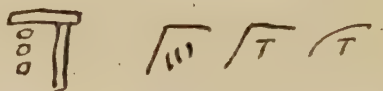


Fig. 4.

shine,' which will be discussed in speaking of the Egyptian connection. (See Plate II., No. 1.)

The next seems perhaps to be a form of Cypriote *Po*, but I am unable to explain the meaning. The next emblem may apparently



Fig. 5.

be the Cypriote *li* shown on Professor Sayce's table of Cypriote signs in 1876. It seems to be a prefix, perhaps to be compared with *Al* in Akkadian, as in *Al-til* 'completed.'



Fig. 6.

The next is the sign which I call provisionally *Pak* (see Plate III., No. 37). There



Fig. 7.

is no doubt that it means 'above,' or 'firmament;' or even 'supreme,' as Professor Sayce has pointed out. I compare it with (2) the

Egyptian *Pet* for the firmament (ideographically but not phonetically), and with the Cuneiform sign for the vault of heaven (3).

No. 15, Plate I., is clearly like the Cypriote *ya*, but I have not been able to attach an ideographic value.*

The characters next shown are not of necessity identical. They resemble forms of the Cypriote *Ko* and *Ka*, and Nos. 1, 3, 4 are

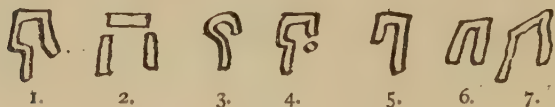


Fig. 8.

on the seals; the meaning *ga*, or 'of,' seems usually applicable. Nos. 2 and 7 are like the Cypriote *Vo*. No. 7 I read therefore *Vo* or *Mo*.

The next character (although it is, perhaps,

* I suspect we may have to read this *Ki*, 'earth,' and compare the triangle with the Egyptian cone for earth. Seal 18 (Wright, Plate XVI.) would then read *Dam-Ki-na na*, the name of the earth-goddess. It is safer, however, to abide by the Cypriote till this can be more fully shown. See final note as to the value *ge*, which is also possible.

not certain that Nos. 2 and 3 are the same as 1 and 4) seems to mean a foot-print. It is quite distinct on a fragment from Jerablus, and fairly so on the cast of the lion of Marash.

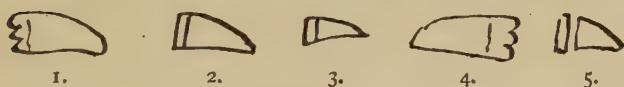


Fig. 9.

It would seem to be a root with the value to 'place,' which would agree with the Semitic idea of the word *Makom*, a 'place' or 'stand.' I have proposed to connect it with the Cuneiform emblem *Gar*, which is very like it. *Gar*, among other meanings, has the signification 'to make.' (See Plate II., No. 12.) Some better explanation of Nos. 2 and 3 of this type may, however, be attained later.

We have thus enumerated the commoner figures on the Altaic texts to the number of sixty without reference to any one particular occurrence, but giving fair deductions from comparison of all the repetitions of each as yet known. From the *sounds* and *shapes* we have got an idea of the *words*, on the basis of

identifying the language with the Akkadian. I appeal to the learned to say whether the process is not legitimate, and in accordance with known facts ; and also to the reading of the inscriptions, which (however imperfectly) I have attempted to deduce from the words, without any preconceived idea of the subject of the texts. We must now say a few words as to the grammar ; but this section may be the right place in which to insert an explanation of Plates I., II., III., which will save the student from hunting through other pages.

In Plate I. I have grouped the first twenty-one words derived from the Cypriote sounds.

No.

1. Ku = King or High.
2. Pa = Sceptre.
3. Zo = Spirit.
4. Ma = Country.
5. $\bar{A}$ = Water.
6. Ri or Ir = Light.
7. U ? = Snake or Cloud.
8. Ni = Protection.
9. Me = Be or Make.
10. Ta = Compel.
11. Mu = I, Me and My.

No.

12. Ni = He, Him, and by.
13. Zu = Thou and Thee.
14. Li = To or -ing.
15. Ya or Ge or Ki.
16. Ra or La = To, etc.
17. Nu or Ne = Even ?
18. Sa = With.
19. Ka = For or Towards.
20. Ti and It = To and At.
21. Ke = As and -er.

In Plate II. I group sounds found later, and compared in various ways.

No.	No.
1. Re=Flow.	7. Te=Adore, or Raise.
2. Li (Prefix).	8. Ro or Lu=Man.
3. Te or De=Grow or Move.	9. An=God or Sky.
4. To or Du=Down or Descend.	10. Gi=Flame.
5. Se=Give.	11. Ė or Ā=And, etc.
6. Ky or Ku=High or Exalt.	12. Gar=Put or Make.
	13. As or Su=Spell or Bind.
	14. Mes=Plural.

On Plate III. are grouped emblems to which I gave first a provisional value, though some were confirmed later, and, therefore, occur on Plate II. as well.

No.	No.
22. An=God.	33. Zu=Phoenix.
23. Ē=House.	34. Tam=Sun.
24. Gut=Bull.	35. Dim=Create.
25. Lig=Dog.	36. En=Prayer.
26. Lu?=Ram.	37. Pak=Above.
27. Mas?=Demon.	38. Sak=Head.
28. Mes=Plural.	39. Ė or Ā=And.
29. Pal=Sword.	40. Re=Flow.
30. Tar=Chief.	41. Pi=Ear.
31. Tak=Monument.	42. Si=Eye.
32. Shar?=Tree.	43. Ul?=Male?

No.	No.
44. Du = Come.	53. Mal ? = Stand.
45. De = Go.	54. Bil = Fire.
46. Mā = Ship.	55. Ku ? = King.
47. Gu = Word.	56. Sū ? = Bind.
48. Ky = High.	57. Nim ? = High.
49. Te ? = Adore.	58. Se = Give.
50. To or Du = Down.	59. Si = Bestow.
51. Bat = Slay.	60. Set = God.
52. Li = Prefix.	61. Zin ? = Hare.

NOTE.—Including with these three tables other signs identified from the Cuneiform—in Section VII.—and those noticed in addition in the text, I thus obtain phonetic and ideographic values for eighty symbols, of which fifty-five are supported by comparative study, and the rest merely provisional though usually obvious. In addition to the pronouns we recognise in this list every one of the common syllables required by the Akkadian grammar.

IV.

THE GRAMMAR.

I DO not propose to say more than a few words as to grammar. My knowledge is elementary, and the difficulties of the special meanings of incorporations in the verbs, and of certain groups of affixes, can only be met by the study of specialists. It is here that the greatest improvements on my first attempts at translation may be expected, and clauses in the texts may be materially improved, or even quite altered, by special study. But such study will not, I hope, overthrow the broader basis of the present inquiry, in which the Cypriote, the Cuneiform, and the Egyptian alike, have been called to our aid.*

* See Lenormant, 'La Magie,' pp. 245, 253-264, 316,

1. The normal construction of the sentence in Akkadian and in Proto-Medic is as follows: viz., objective + subjective + verb. Whereas in the Sumerian, at a later period, we have the order, subject + object + verb. The identification of the noun EN—which begins six or perhaps seven of our inscriptions, and begins clauses in others, and which also begins the magic texts in Akkadian, as translated from the Cuneiform—shows us that we have to deal with the grammar of an agglutinative language.

2. The ordinary place of the adjective in Akkadian and in Proto-Medic alike is after the substantive; but there are cases in Akkadian where this rule is reversed. The Akkadian normal rule distinguishes that language from existing Uralo-Altaic tongues. We have, however, such words in Akkadian as *gal-lu*, 'big man,' where the construction

resembles that of later dialects. On the texts the adjective seems usually to follow its noun, being formed by a *ke* prefixed to a noun,* or by a *ga* which follows it; the suffix of the 'packet' follows the genitive or adjectives which succeed the noun.

3. The normal position of the genitive in Akkadian is after its nominative; but in Proto-Medic it may precede, in which case it has no declining particle (according to Lenormant): this, with the preceding, are points on which the specialists seem still to find some difficulty, and which may in the end serve to fix the exact dialect of the inscriptions.

4. The plural is formed by the termination *Mes*.

5. The causative *Kek*, and the compulsive *ta* or *tani*, should precede the verbal root. This, again, distinguishes Akkadian

* See Bertin ('Trans. Bib. Arch. Soc.', vol. viii., part ii., p. 258) on *Ki*, a prefix of 'position.'

from the later Uralo-Altaic tongues, with which it is nevertheless known to be closely connected; and it serves to mark the antiquity of the dialect in the inscriptions.

6. In cases where several objects occur in an enumeration, all in one case, even when they have also adjectives following, the whole group is considered in Akkadian as a 'packet,' and the post-position of case is not repeated, but stands at the end of the series or 'packet.'*

7. The active or passive voices depend on the position of the pronoun, already described on p. 38, and on attached particles.

The particle *Ra* infixed in the verb before the objective pronoun is said to indicate a reflective sense. The subjunctive is, I understand, formed by a prefixed *Um*; and *Mi* or *Man* is the future; *in-ra* affixed is also a future form.

8. The genders of nouns are apparently

* Lenormant, 'Magie,' p. 245.

not expressed in Akkadian as M. Bertin has stated.

9. The formant of agency *Ik* is a suffix in Akkadian. It may, perhaps, be expressed in the hieroglyphic texts by the symbol *Ke* when occurring as a suffix.

10. The prefix *Ni* forms the present in Akkadian. There are a few cases where it seems to precede a noun, as mentioned on p. 41, where the abstract or adjective seems to be expressed.

11. The affixed *Ni* forms the ablative absolute, or the ablative in Akkadian, and the genitive or ablative in Susian.

12. *Gik*, a preposition meaning 'great' in Susian, perhaps explains the *Akka* or *Ke Gá* of our texts.

13. *Ra-Mes-ke* is known as the termination of the 'past gerund' in Proto-Medic, and is to be compared with the *Mes-ke* on one of our inscriptions, which is an affix; and perhaps with *Ra-mes-ti*.

14. The numeral precedes its noun.

V.

THE GODS AND RELIGIOUS IDEAS.

PROFESSOR SAYCE identified the emblem of deity (which, however, at first he regarded as the determinative of country) by its connection with the sceptres of the gods at Boghaz Keui. The corresponding Cuneiform sign was originally a star, but may really be derived from the hieroglyphic in question (Plate II., No. 9). This, as I have explained more fully in a final note, is shown by the fact that the group An-Tam-Zu occurs on a seal with the star instead of the Altaic emblem. In Egypt the five-rayed star also means god or star.*

* The Akkadians did not worship stars, but only the sun and moon. The Semitic peoples adored stars, and

We must now carry on the work by discovering the names of the gods on the Altaic monuments.

1. AN-(U?)—emblem, the snake—the god of sky and cloud. In Akkadian we know the god *An-na*, equivalent to the Semitic god Anu, as the sky-god. We need not insist on the phonetic value *u* for the snake, which depends on the Cypriote ; but we know the ideographic value of the snake as meaning originally the cloud. Ea, the god of ocean and sky, is said (in an Akkadian hymn)* to hold an enormous serpent in his hands, which makes the sea foam. This serpent is represented in the hand of a god who sits on a throne in the sea, on a cylinder recently published in the *Babylonian Record*.

connected the old Akkadian sun-gods with their own planetary gods. This may explain why a star took the place of an elder emblem more like the sun. See final note as to the seal with *An-Tam-Zu* upon it.

* See 'La Magie,' p. 257, and compare *Babylonian Record*, February, 1887, frontispiece.

2. AN-Ē, 'god of the House'—that is, of the heavenly mansion, or temple above—represented in one case as a house with wings. This was the famous Akkadian god Ea, a sort of Neptune, akin also to the Vishnu of India, dwelling in ocean, and presiding over rain and rivers. His chief emblem was the great ship or ark, which seems to be represented on one of the so-called Hittite seals, and on many others still called Akkadian or Assyrian.

3. AN TAM-ZU, 'god of the Sun-spirit.' This well-known group (see Plate III., Nos. 33 and 34) seems to me quite certain. The emblem *tam* is sometimes an oval, but on the Babylonian bowl and other later texts, where the emblems are conventionalized, it becomes a lozenge. Curious as this may appear, we know that the oldest Cuneiform emblem of the sun was a lozenge, derived clearly from the Altaic hieroglyph. As to *Zu*, the bird is an eagle. Now, there was a famous eagle* named *Zu*, who fell a victim to Istar (as

* Lenormant, 'Origines,' p. 117; 'Magie,' p. 140.

mentioned in the Gisdubar legends), and who stole the fire-talisman of the gods, like Prometheus, and was punished by the gods under the orders of Anu and Bel, the death-blow being dealt by Marduk, after Rimmon and Nebo refused. This is an Assyrian legend, perhaps astrological ; but Tamzu was originally an Akkadian god, and the eagle Zu is the progenitor of the Egyptian Rekh or Bennu, of the Persian Simurgh and Rukh, of the Phœnix, and of the winged sun with a tail, which appears over the kings' heads on Assyrian bas-reliefs. If we turn to the seal figured by Lajarde, where the three Altaic emblems AN, TAM, ZU, with two others which I read AN, SHAR, occur, we there find on one side the winged horse—the Akkadian and Assyrian and Phœnician Pegasus—sailing among the stars ; and on the other the winged sun, generally called Asshur, ' the Creator. '*

* Wright's 'Hittites,' Plate XVI.

I regard this identification of Tammuz, so well known to us in the Bible, and in connection with the Phœnician Venus and Adonis, as one of the best points in my discovery, and as, perhaps, one of the most certain confirmations of the correctness of my general views.

4. AN BIL, 'the fire-god.' On a later page I explain how this name, which occurs as that of a deity on the Babylonian bowl, can be identified through the linear Babylonian Cuneiform. Bil, or Bilgi, was a celebrated god of fire, and it was from the older Medes that the Masdean fire-worship was derived. The Akkadian hymns to fire are numerous, and are the prototypes of the Zendavesta fire-hymns. The emblem of the god is the celebrated 'fire-drill,' which Mr. Boscawen has shown to have been used by the Akkadians.

5. AN SET, the famous god of the Hittites, also adored as the god of night in Egypt (see Plate III., No. 60). The emblem

of Set* (as we learn from Epiphanius and from Egyptian pictures) was the head of an ass. This head is only known twice in connection with the emblem *An*, but that is enough. At Iasili Käia an unmistakable ass-head occurs with the sign of deity. Set, to the Hittites, was the lord of heaven and earth, and the name seems to be used as meaning 'deity' simply. It may be, as De Rougé supposed, the origin of the Semitic *Sed* for a 'genius,' whence the *Shedim*, or 'demons,' of the Hebrews. We have further confirmation in the constant occurrence of the emblem *tak*, or 'stone' (a menhir on a base), in connection with the ass-head; for in Egypt the determinative which accompanies the figure of Set is a stone, so that Lenormant thought that Set meant 'a stone.' We have, perhaps, in this combination, *Set-tak*, the origin of the form Sutekh, equivalent to Set or Sut; but as the Egyptian sound is guttural,

* 'Syrian Stone-Lore,' p. 20.

this word—if it be a correct form, which Chabas denied—may really be Set-ikh, ‘good Set.’ It is also possible that the sieve or circle read as *ekh* in Egyptian, and sometimes found with only two bars, may really be copied from the old Altaic emblem *An*, and that the true reading is *An Set*, not Sutech.

We may also be able now to identify the Akkadian god Tar-tak, ‘chief of the stone,’ who is mentioned in the Bible (2 Kings xvii. 31), and who was the god of the Tigris. He may, perhaps, be the Hittite Set. The Egyptian hieroglyphic for Set is a sort of ass-headed chimæra, seated on its haunches with its tail in the air. It is possible that this very figure is found on the lion of Marash. Perrot draws it as a rabbit, not showing distinctly what seems, perhaps, to be the erect tail, and making the face, I think, rather too short; this, however, is matter of opinion. There is no god whose name is so frequent on the Altaic hieroglyphs as is that of Set. In Egypt we have a double-

headed figure Set-Har, 'night and day,' and a Lydian cylinder* exists with a picture of a double-headed god turning his face and the cross, which he holds in his right hand, towards his worshippers, while the other head and the hand with a whip is turned towards the two demons, who are 'tearing one another,' just as is so often described in Akkadian magic texts.

6. AN-Ā-NI or AN-Ā-MU, the water-god, may be connected with the moon goddess of the Akkadians, *Āa*. The moon has always been connected with water; first, no doubt, because of the heavy dews on the clear moonlight nights; and, by peoples who knew the Persian Gulf, because of the tides which we learn in the Pehlevi scriptures† are caused by a 'wind from the moon' blowing the waters inland or away from land. I think that the curious group (Hamath Stone No. v.,

* Perrot, 'Hist. de l'Art,' vol. iv., p. 771.

† Zâd Spâram, vi. 17.

line 4) which, as a study of the cast shows, represents a bull's head in a crescent, with the figures *Ya-ā* below, might represent the crescent moon. In the Zendavesta we read of the moon 'holding the seed of the bull'—the famous bull slaughtered by Ahriman; and the more we study Akkadian mythology the more we seem to see that on it the Medes, who partly originated the Zendavesta, based their system, which contained also members of the Vedic pantheon of the Aryan Persians.

7. AN-ZU, 'the god of life or spirit,' is, perhaps, to be connected with the Akkadian *Zi-ana*, 'spirit of heaven,' so frequently invoked in the magical texts. This group, *An-Zu*, occurs on a text (Jerablus No. iii., line 4) which repeats, apparently almost word for word in places, a well-known magical inscription deciphered from Akkadian Cuneiform. *Zu* is a well-known Akkadian god connected with Tamzu, of whom we have already spoken.

8. AN-SHAR, 'god of the tree.' The reading *Shar* is only provisional,* but the tree-god, who became the Assyrian Asshur, is well known. The sacred tree was a sort of artificial construction (the Canaanite Asherah or 'grove'), not a natural tree. We can recognise the group *An Shar* (Jerablus ii., line 2) in connection with a tree, over which is, perhaps, the emblem *li li*. Lil Shar is the pair to An Shar, but seems to represent a natural earthly tree. In the Creation and other tablets we read of Nin Shar and An Shar as the Akkadian equivalents of Anu and Anat (heaven and earth), and of Shar-gal ('great tree') and Kishar-gal (perhaps 'great earth tree'), also Akkadian equivalents of Anu and Anat.†

What is meant by these two trees?

* *Shar* is translated 'fertile,' but An Shar was the god of the sacred tree, and Ki Shar, the goddess of 'fertile earth,' became Sheruya and Asherah, the 'grove' of the Bible.

† Lenormant, 'Origines,' p. 494.

Renouf has left us no doubt. The jewelled tree in the east, through the branches of which Horus climbs, is the aurora of dawn, and the radiating branches are the rays before sunrise. The 'shining tree,' or 'tree of great light,' of Asshur, in Assyria, is the same.* As regards the 'earth tree,' I should regard that as the sunset aurora, and identify it with the tree of Nut or Hathor (heaven or sunset), which stood in the Egyptian Hades, and whence flowed the water of life for the souls of the dead. The Moslems have the same figures still, of a heavenly and an infernal tree ; and these two trees are, in fact, so celebrated in all Asiatic mythologies, that it would take a volume to describe them.

10. The 'Hare-God.' Only once known at Boghaz Keui. The well-formed running hare on the flank of the lion of Marash (not

* This tree of Asshur, with its pineapples, is powerful against demons ('La Magie,' p. 27 ; 'Origines,' p. 87). The demons flee when the sun rises, as in the Zenda-vesta.

the emblem noticed with Set) seems to be also, perhaps, the title of a god. We have a cylinder from Cappadocia showing the gods standing on various animals—just as the Hindu gods are also represented—and one of these animals is a hare.* The hare in Aryan myths is connected with the moon. The Egyptian hare-god, *Un*, is the rising sun. The idea is, perhaps, that of the swift animal who springs from its form in the east and courses all over the earth in one day. The Akkadian name for hare is *Ka-Zin-na*. In Mongol stories the moon appears under the emblem of a hare,† so that the Akkadian hare-god is perhaps the moon; which makes one wonder whether *Ka-Zin-na*, or ‘face of Zin,’‡ can have any connection with the Semitic Assyrian god Sin, who was the moon-god. The Akkadian name of Sin was *En-zu-na*,

* Perrot, ‘Hist. de l’Art,’ vol. iv., p. 773.

† Gubernatis, ‘Zool. Mythol.,’ ii., pp. 76-79.

‡ *Zin* is usually translated ‘desert,’ but I cannot see why a hare should be called ‘face desert from.’

‘Lord of Waxing,’ eldest son of Mulge,
‘King of Hell.’

These ten are the deities found on the Altaic texts. They resolve themselves into spirits of heaven, ocean, cloud, dawn, sunset, the sun, the moon, water and fire. These were exactly the deities adored by the Akkadians (who did not, like the Semitic peoples, worship stars and planets, which they regarded as ‘manslayers’), and also by the Hittites, who swore by Is-tar (the Akkadian light-goddess), by Set (‘the sun’), and by the rivers, clouds, winds, and mountains. I have devoted a few pages in ‘Syrian Stone-Lore’ to the explanation of the purely natural origin of this animistic belief.* The Mas-dean religion is founded upon it, and the Parsee veneration of fire, water, and other phenomena of nature, keeps alive still the same system.

The Akkadian system was, however,

* ‘Syrian Stone-Lore,’ pp. 7 *et seq.*, and 18.

dualistic, as was the Masdean which developed thence, in part at least. There were demons of wind, plague, darkness, etc., concerning whom Lenormant has written much. I note as curious that the ram's head on our hieroglyphs is never the name of a god, although in one instance it appears to be a divine title. On the other hand, we have a cylinder from Lydia, as already mentioned, whereon two demons are represented tearing each other, and two words occur above in Altaic hieroglyphics.* One of the two hieroglyphics is the ram's head; the other appears to be *Ni*, the group thus apparently meaning 'contention' or 'fighting.' The Akkadian name for ram seems doubtful. It could hardly have been *lu-nit* ('sheep-male'), for one would expect a monosyllable. The ram was the emblem of the warrior-god (Nirgal), perhaps because the ram is one of the most pugnacious of animals. The sun is often called

* Perrot, 'Hist. de l'Art,' vol. iv., p. 771.

a 'warrior' in Cuneiform inscriptions, and the ram was the emblem of the equinox of spring.

The word MAS may mean genius, either good or bad. On the second Jerablus text a demon seems to be described as having 'dog's paws' or 'wolf's claws,' and the representations of demons among Akkadians and Assyrians give them the paws of a wild beast, on the fore-legs in some cases. We have many representations of these demons, who were constantly hunted by Silik-Mulu-khi and destroyed by the magic waters of Ea, but who did much harm, pouncing on men, frightening birds and beasts, and bringing evil winds and the plague (*Nam-tar*). The inscriptions which seem to tell us most about these demons are the second and third from Jerablus.

This section might be extended indefinitely, so great is the quantity of our information scattered in the works of Lenormant and other writers; but we must here pause.

I ask the specialist to consider the point at which we have arrived, and to say whether, in spite of smaller errors which will no doubt be pointed out, the present attempt to decipher the Altaic hieroglyphs does not appear to be founded on a large number of facts which accord together, and which can only be explained by identifying the language of the texts as Akkadian or Proto-Medic.

VI.

THE CYPRIOTE CONNECTION.

THERE is little to be added to what has been said in Section IV. concerning the Cypriote connection. Although this connection has given to us—thanks to Professor Sayce in 1876—the real key to the reading of the texts, there remains more to be done in the future, through comparison of the Altaic hieroglyphs with the oldest forms of the Cuneiform than by further use of Cypriote.

I possess a list of some twenty Cypriote symbols for which I have not yet found the Altaic original. Some may be directly identified by sound with hieroglyphs as yet only known in Cuneiform; as, for instance, *Khe*, 'fish;' *Pi*, 'ear;' *Si*, 'eye'—the form of

the symbol being suggestive of the old picture—to which we may add *U* or *O* for ‘herb,’ and perhaps *Ro* or *Lo* for ‘man’ (the Akkadian *lu*). I have no doubt that Akkadian and Cuneiform scholars will find other clear cases of identification, which I cannot trace.

The way in which this syllabary reached the Greeks is clear. The monuments of Karabel, Sipylos, Tyana, Koniah, Ibreez, etc., show us an ancient Altaic stock in Asia Minor, which gradually by the ‘law of least effort,’ which Dr. Isaac Taylor lays down, conventionalized the Altaic hieroglyphs into symbols. We can see the process commencing both at Tyana and also on the Babylonian bowl. The character thence formed in the west was Cypriotic (or rather Carian and Lycian); in the east it passed from linear Babylonian into Cuneiform; the material used in each case, namely, stone and clay, giving the original motive of variation. Thus we see that in this case *similarities are due to common origin*, but *differences to inde-*

pendent development, an important consideration in connection with the Egyptian. Dr. Deeke was not quite right, because Cypriote is not an offshoot of Cuneiform; but substantially he is right if the Cypriote and Cuneiform have a common origin in Altaic emblems. I should, perhaps, here note that those very sounds which appear in Akkadian and in Proto-Medic to be indistinguishable (see back, page 33), namely, P and B, or K, G, and Kh, or T and D, are also indistinguishable in the Cypriote texts, as are also M and V. In the Semitic Cuneiform, on the contrary, these sounds are sharply distinguished. The identification of the language of our monuments thus agrees with the peculiarities of the derived syllabary.

VII.

THE CUNEIFORM CONNECTION.

WE must now look a little deeper into the very interesting question of the connection between the Altaic hieroglyphs and the Cuneiform, which, as I have already stated, was, I believe, suggested to me first by Dr. Isaac Taylor. I do not know if he is the original author of the theory, but if his opinion proves to be still the same, I do not suppose that the view of so great an authority on the history of writing would be disputed, and on obtaining the hint I endeavoured to study the connection between the Cuneiform and the Altaic. I have also heard that G. Smith thought the same.

In June, 1878, was published a paper (see 'Trans. Bib. Arch. Soc.,' vol. vi., p. 454) by Rev. W. Houghton, on the 'Picture Origin of the Cuneiform,' which laid a scientific basis for the study of the development of the arrow-headed writing from some original hieroglyphic or picture-writing system. The earliest forms known to the author were those old conventional signs which occur in the so-called 'linear Babylonian,' the oldest known Cuneiform; which signs stand halfway between the arrow-headed symbols and the Altaic hieroglyphs.

On Plate IV. I have given ten signs, which seem more or less clearly to connect the Cuneiform with the Altaic. I am not aware that anyone has as yet compared any one sign of one series with that corresponding in the other, nor would it be easy to do so until we know the language of the Altaic texts. If some other author has published a comparison, I hope to be told; but my work is in this respect quite original. It seems to

- | | | | | | |
|----|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 |  |  | <i>Sun</i> |  |  |
| 2 |  | | <i>Bull</i> |  |  |
| 3 |  |  | <i>House</i> |  |  |
| 4 |  |  | <i>Sceptre</i> | |  |
| 5 |  | | <i>Ear</i> | |  |
| 6 |  | | <i>Slay</i> | |  |
| 7 |  | | <i>Foot</i> |  |  |
| 8 |  | <i>Fish</i> |  |  | |
| 9 |  |  | <i>Mountain</i> | |  |
| 10 |  | | <i>Plural</i> | |  |

me to be a subject capable of very great development in the hands of specialists, if caution is observed. Mr. Houghton's paper shows how necessary it is that only the *oldest* forms should be compared, since the Cuneiform underwent strange changes in accordance with the 'law of least effort' laid down by Dr. Isaac Taylor.

The ten signs on Plate IV. include the 'bull,' GUT; the 'house,' E; the 'fish,' KHA; the 'foot,' SO; the 'hand,' SU; the 'ear,' PI; and the plural MES, which are merely pictures, and might have originated independently. The 'arm and knife,' BAT, is less easy to explain on a theory of complete independence of origin. There remain two emblems, which it seems impossible to suppose can have suggested themselves to people quite unconnected — namely, the 'sceptre,' PA, and the square or lozenge-shaped 'sun,' TAM or UT. In Cuneiform the sun is never round, and we see, by comparing the Babylonian bowl and the Jerablus texts, that the

sun was at first represented by an oval on the Altaic hieroglyphic texts, but gradually conventionalized into a lozenge even before the time of the linear Babylonian. As regards *Pa*, I find in the Assyrian Court of the British Museum, in the hands of one of the great Assyrian figures, a sceptre, or 'Aaron's rod,' with branches and buds, which shows us even better than do the sceptres of some of the figures at Boghaz Keui, the complete form of the emblem whence the Cypriote *Pa* and the Cuneiform *Pa* are developed. It is not a rude tree-branch, as some have said, but an emblem evidently of life and growth, carefully elaborated by the Assyrian artist, yet clearly originating in the clumsier attempts of the old Altaic sculptor.

After reading afresh Mr. Houghton's valuable paper, other similarities suggest themselves to me. I venture to think that in some cases his comparisons are too subtle and abstract; for we are dealing with very ancient, and therefore, I think, probably very

simple and purely physical ideas, as we may see in the cases of the emblems for mother (the temple, the germ, and the female principle) and for father—a cognate emblem. Mr. Houghton, however, had a very difficult task, and it will be much easier for experts to work from the Altaic emblem than it was for him to wring the secret out of the conventionalized linear Cuneiform.

The old sign for 'man,' read *nit* in Akkadian, should, I think, be compared with

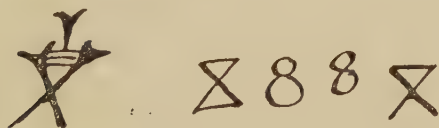


Fig. 10.

the four forms given here of the Cypriote *le* and *ro*; since *lu*, or *ru*, is an Akkadian word for man.* The Cuneiform is curiously like the usual Red Indian picture of a man.

* The Cypriote recalls the curious terra-cotta figures of deities without legs found in Cyprus and in Phœnicia, and at Gaza, in Palestine.

The old form of *An* is supposed to be a star in Cuneiform, but we may suggest that it is connected with the Altaic figure AN (see Plate II., No. 9). The Cuneiform sign



Fig. 11.

Gal, for 'great,' of which two examples are here given, may be compared with an Altaic emblem found on the first Hamath stone (line 3), and perhaps at Ibreez, and twice on the back of the Marash lion. The comparison may be deceptive, though it makes sense in the texts. I do not pretend to understand the ideographic value. The emblem looks like an enclosure, perhaps a cloud or a garden (*Gan* in Akkadian). This seems to be a matter for further inquiry.*

I have already referred to the emblem for 'firmament' or 'heaven,' which appears to

* See further analysis of Hamath, No. 1.

connect the Egyptian, the Cuneiform, and the Altaic. It clearly represents the adamantine vault, which in the belief of Akkadians, Medes, and later writers in the Zendavesta—as well as among the Phœnicians—formed the floor of heaven on which the sun-wheel rolled in its labyrinthine course to the 180 holes in the horizon.

The Altaic emblem for fire, which I failed to discover from the Cypriote, I have, I

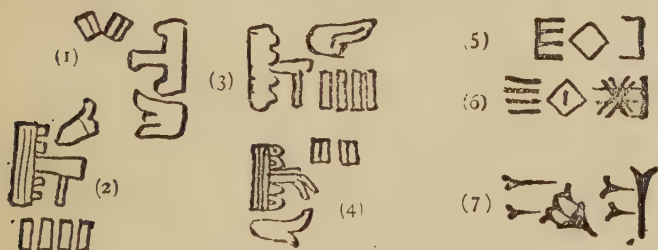


Fig. 12.

think, been able to identify in a satisfactory manner by the aid of Mr. Houghton's account of the Babylonian Cuneiform. Our illustration gives us a fine instance of the history of the Assyrian Cuneiform. No. 7 is usually called BIL GI in Akkadian. Nos.

5 and 6 are two of the original linear Babylonian forms of the same. Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4 are taken from the first, second, and third Jerablus texts, as copied from the originals by myself.

The emblem which stands first, and is apparently BIL, we have already noticed as the name of a god on the Babylonian bowl. Mr. Houghton shows that it is the 'fire-drill' used by the Akkadians and Phœnicians, as well as by so many early tribes all over the world—the *pramantha* from which Max Müller tells us Prometheus was named. Mr. Houghton's explanation of the other emblems seems to be modified by discovering the Akkadian original; the filbert-shaped object is not the head of a beast, as it has sometimes been represented; it has no eye or mouth, as far as my senses of sight and touch of the original stone go. It is clearly a *flame* like that on the altar in another Altaic emblem. It very rarely occurs alone, but there is a case where it is placed over a ram's head (Jerablus iii., line 3) as an apparent

attribute of the god Tammuz.* This emblem, then, is GI, or 'flame' (such being the Akkadian meaning of *gi*.) The third emblem is MES, the plural, which has apparently become silent in the word *Bil gi*, if that reading is certain. The group, then, is resolved into BIL-GI-MES, and the interpretation is 'fire-drill-flames,' which came to be accepted as 'fire,' and was in time adopted by the Assyrians as equivalent to *Isatu* (Hebrew *Esh*), the Semitic word for fire. This, perhaps, explains why we have *Bil gi* instead of *gibil*, as to which Cuneiform scholars apparently disagree: some of them (like Lenormant) make *Bil* a verb.† The Altaic emblem seems to show us a log of wood into which the fire-stick is inserted, while sparks are issuing from the log. In the linear Babylonian form (No. 6) we see the wood laid under the drill. The flame *gi* has gradu-

* It seems also to occur twice on the Babylonian bowl.

† Others make it a genitive.

ally become a lozenge, but the Cuneiform sign (No 7) still shows a connection with the idea of flame.

The Cuneiform oldest emblems for 'reed' and 'life,' which seem to represent the growth of flowers or reeds, I propose to compare with an emblem on the third Jerablus text (line 3), and with two of the sceptres of

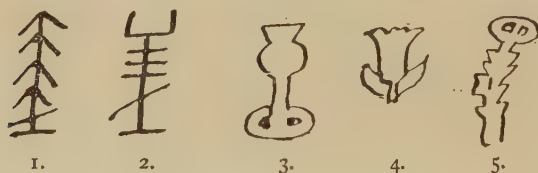


Fig. 13.

the gods on the Boghaz Keui bas-reliefs. The idea is that of 'growing up,' but I do not feel certain as to the proper phonetic value.

The linear Babylonian form for *tak* (a 'stone' in Akkadian) is clearly taken from the idea of the cippus or menhir on a base, which occurs on the Altaic hieroglyphs. To No. 3 I have already assigned the phonetic value *tak*, for other reasons. No. 2 seems,

perhaps, to be a root meaning 'memorial,' which recalls the fact that in Hebrew the verb to 'remember' comes from the same root with 'male' and 'monument.' It is well known that the menhir, or *lingam*, is con-



Fig. 14.

nected with the male idea in India and all over Asia. No. 4 is a cippus, just like those erected by the Phœnicians as sacred emblems and as funeral monuments.

The root *tu*, to 'descend,' seems to me to correspond with the hand (said sometimes to

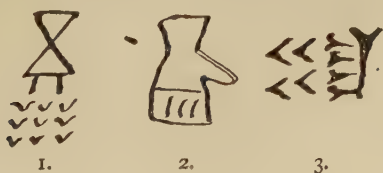


Fig. 15.

be a glove), which points downwards on the Altaic texts ; and to which we have already

assigned the value 'down' or 'descend,' to which we may therefore give the phonetic value TU. Mr. Houghton's ingenious explanation seems to me too subtle; and the Altaic hieroglyph gives, I think, a safer origin to the sign, which in Cuneiform became No. 3.

The group (No. 1) next given is the word *ad* for father. Professor Sayce compares the included emblem with Nos. 2 and 3, which are the verb to 'make.' This perhaps throws light on the verb to 'make' or 'be,' of which we have already spoken (p. 51), giving it provisionally the value MA or ME; but this I regard as conjectural.*

By the aid of Mr. Houghton's paper we are thus able to compare the Altaic and the Cuneiform in about twenty cases, including the group *Bil gi*. I submit that my thesis is most materially strengthened by this com-

* In addition to these signs I think we may compare the sounds *Gar, Dim, As, ă*, and, perhaps, others with Cuneiform as noticed on other pages.

parison. These pages are, however, only the germ, perhaps, of a future development in which the scholars will embark; and the comparison, if carried further by those to whom the Cuneiform is familiar, on the basis of a supposition that the language of the Altaic texts is closely akin to Akkadian, will, I feel convinced, produce great results, aiding us to understand alike the Cuneiform char-



Fig. 16.

acters and the Altaic prototypes much better than at present.

This comparison serves also to give some idea of the probable antiquity of the Altaic hieroglyphs. The execution of the accompanying figures shows us that they must be more archaic than the bas-reliefs covered with Cuneiform characters. In Assyria the Akkadian became an extinct language about 1500 B.C., and I believe the Hamath

stones to be perhaps as old as Abraham at least—the oldest monuments of Asia. We know that many of the Cuneiform clay tablets were copies from older monuments. Mr. Pinches (*Babylonian Record*, November, 1886, p. 9) has translated one, which is said on its own face to be a ‘copy of the tablet of *ûsû* stone;’ and *ûsû*, he says, is basalt—the very stone of the Hamath and Jerablus texts. It was, perhaps, from an ancient Altaic hieroglyphic text that the clay tablet of *Singasid* was copied.

VIII.

THE EGYPTIAN CONNECTION.

WE now turn to the question of the possible interdependence of the Altaic and Egyptian systems, concerning which little has previously been here said. In this inquiry I do not stand quite alone. Lenormant long ago pointed out that the ideograph for 'place' used in the Cuneiform appeared to have a common origin with that used in Egypt. Both, in fact, may be derived from the usual representation in plan of a walled town.

I have compared nineteen cases where (since the discovery of the language of the Altaic inscriptions) the Egyptian still seems to me to have the same ideographic value as

the Altaic. No doubt it is true that heads of bulls, rams, birds, etc., or other pure pictures will not serve to establish a connection. They may arise from independent sources, especially when the languages are different; but there are other cases where I do not think that the connection can be so briefly dismissed. On Plate No. V. I have shown ten examples, some of which involve abstract ideas. Thus it is curious that the goat represents a chief (Hik) in Egypt, and the deer (Tar) a chief in the Altaic. In both systems the throne means Divine majesty or power; in both we have a very similar emblem for the firmament. Last of all, the Egyptian emblem for 'lightning,' or 'brightness,'* is evidently identical with that which, by aid of the Cypriote, we have concluded to

* Mr. Houghton notes that this also means 'storm,' and is like the Cuneiform emblem for 'storm,' or 'darkness.' The idea is the same, the rain taking the place of the shafts of light. The expression must have meant 'shed,' applying equally to water and to light.

mean *ri*, or 'shine.' It is, in fact, a series of rays descending from the emblem of the firmament, or heaven.

Professor de Lacouperie (*Babylonian Record*, December, 1866, p. 27) has recently written as follows :

' There are strong reasons to believe that the Babylonian and Egyptian writings have sprung from a former system. They have many symbols in common, with similar phonetic values which are not loan signs. A list of such signs was begun by Professor Hommel and by myself independently, and requires only to be extended for being published. Professor Hommel thinks that the Egyptian writing was derived from that of Babylon, and says he can put forward some facts in support of this view. For my part, I find that there are cogent reasons to believe that both writings have come from an older system, which has also produced the Hittite hieroglyphs, and the pictorial figures and symbols which were preserved on the black

stone of Susa, the boundary-stones of Babylonia,* and also preserved in some later symbols.'

I believe the learned author to have hit on exactly the right explanation, and I think that the comparison which I ventured—however imperfectly—to draw, in 1883, between the Altaic and the Egyptian is justified by the discoveries of others.

We may, therefore, pause to inquire whether any other traces of connection are discernible between Egyptians and Akkadians. The Egyptian language does not show us any such connection. It is one of a family of African and Asiatic tongues which

* These emblems are Semitic, and though there is, I think, certainly a connection, it seems to me that they are planetary, and represent the 'houses' and the planetary and zodiacal animals. I have some time since identified with the planets those emblems which occur above the heads of Assyrian kings by aid of M. Peretié's plaque. M. Ganneau compared these signs, but, as far as I know, did not deduce the fact that they are emblems of the planets, whence indeed our modern emblems for the days of the week are derived.

have, as Professor de Lacouperie tells us, the grammatical order, subject + object + verb, like the Sumerian order.

The Egyptian is allied not only to the Coptic, but to other North African languages. The tribes round Suakim and in the Soudan, which are neither Negro nor Arab,* with others in Abyssinia, speak kindred dialects. The Galla and the Kordofan dialects, the Kabyle, Algerian, Tuarik, and the old language of the Canary Islands, are all akin to Egyptian ; and perhaps the Madagascar tongue, though corrupted by the Malay. The Somali, Dankali, Bishari, Agao, Chaho, Billin, and Kunama tongues are also compared by Professor de Lacouperie. The Caucasian, Kolarian, and (in India) the Dravidian dialects are, says the latter scholar, the Asiatic representatives of the same family.

* See Sir C. Wilson's paper, read at the Anthropological Institute, 8th Feb., 1887 ; 'Syrian Stone-Lore,' chap. i., p. 54 ; *Babylonian Record*, Dec., 1886, p. 30.

The people who spoke these tongues belonged to the old black race, which is called by Herodotus the Asiatic Æthiopian—a race with finely-cut features, but somewhat full lips, and apparently with straight or curly black hair, but not with wool.

They have been found by M. Dieulafoy portrayed at Tell Loh, and the Abyssinian type with aquiline features and jet-black skin is the modern representative. They are sometimes supposed to have had their cradle in Bactria, but I do not understand that this rests on any very certain evidence. These people existed in Arabia and on the shores of the Persian Gulf, as well as in Beluchistan. In Babylonia the 'dark race' is mentioned as one of those ruled by Sargina (traditionally in 3800 B.C.). In Susiana they seem to have been mingled with an Altaic population. They spread down the Indus into the Dekkan. The Klings in South-East India are the same.

'It is still an open question,' says Pro-

1		<i>Royalty</i>	
2		<i>Majesty</i>	
3		<i>Sky</i>	
4		<i>Shine</i>	
5		<i>Land</i>	
6		<i>Chief</i>	
7		<i>Move</i>	
8		<i>Cause</i>	
9		<i>Set</i>	
10		<i>Water</i>	
11		<i>A God</i>	
12		<i>Day</i>	

fessor de Lacouperie, 'which may very likely receive an affirmative answer, to know if some of the languages of India belonging to the Himalaic division of the Scythian stock must not extend their affinities so as to include in their group some of the African languages.'

To this black race the antiquarian ethnologists have given the name 'Cushite,' since 'Cush' in Semitic languages means 'dark'; but I confess that I cannot quite see the connection. The Kassi or Cosseans may be connected with Cush, but they seem to have spoken an Altaic dialect closely akin to Akkadian. I do not know if there is any evidence to convince us that the black race came from Central Asia. May it not rather have its home in Africa? But whatever be the answer, it is to the black race that the Egyptian language appears to trace its origin. We have, however, nothing, as far as I can find, to show that the hieroglyphic system is due to the black race, although

it possesses the phonetic values of their language. Language, we are constantly reminded, is not a sure test of race, and the ancient Egyptians on the monuments are not a black people. It is remarkable, in South Africa, that the Bantu people, though superior in other respects, have not developed the picture-writing, which the Chinese-like Hottentots possess. Nor does it appear that Abyssinians or other members of the Ethiopian race (as distinguished from the negro) have any picture-writing system. The Amharic and kindred alphabets are borrowed from the Phœnician alphabet, as developed in Yemen among the Arabs of a remote antiquity. As regards race, we learn from Brugsch* that there were at least three, if not four, races known to ancient Egypt—the Nahasu, or negroes in the south; the Amu, or Semitic brown race who in the

* 'Egypt under the Pharaohs,' vol. i., p. 3; 'Syrian Stone-Lore,' p. 54.

Hyksos period invaded the Delta ; and the Libu, a light race (the white Lybians) on the west. Many Egyptologists have supposed that a Turanian Asiatic stock existed in Egypt, and to them possibly the origin of the hieroglyphics may be due.

It is in this manner, perhaps, that we may best explain the connection between Altaic and Egyptian hieroglyphics. The connection may be due to a common Asiatic origin in a picture-writing whence the Egyptian and the so-called Hittite both developed. The Egyptian is of immense antiquity, and far more complex, since it consists of about 400 symbols against the Altaic 110 to 140 emblems. The Egyptian is a double system of determinatives and syllables ; the Altaic represents a simpler stage when the pictorial ideograph with a monosyllabic value is accompanied, not by determinatives, but only by conventionalized symbols of particles and grammatical forms. I might even suggest that the Egyptian double system arose from

the fact that the emblems were applied to a language other than that to which they belonged in the first instance; just as in Cuneiform the old Akkadian ideograph got a new phonetic value when it came to be used in a Semitic language. Determinatives may have served to fix the true value of syllables which at first had another sound in another language. The Altaic hieroglyph is not the original of the Egyptian; but the earlier pure picture-writing whence it developed may perhaps have been the parent alike not only of the Egyptian and the Cuneiform, but even of the Chinese hieroglyphics as well. Now, as remarked on a previous page, it seems probable that really reliable resemblances of idea in two systems are due not to independent coincidence of conception, but rather to common origin; and that differences are due to separate development. This seems to me a more natural conclusion than that urged by both mythologists and philologists, who tell us that men thought out the same thoughts

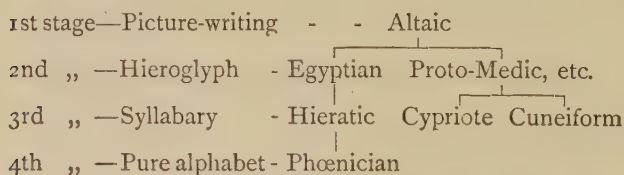
in the same way without any intercommunion. Our experience of mankind should surely teach us that men do not think alike or arrive at the same conclusions, any more than they start from the same premises—unless they have consulted together.

So much for the Egyptian connection. It is parallel, not successive ; and remembering that we must deal not with identity of sound, but only of meaning and of form, I venture to hope that it will be very considerably developed in the future by competent scholars, and that it will justify the encouragement which Professor Sayce extended to me when I first tried to compare the Altaic and the Egyptian, and justify also the complete comparison of the oldest Cuneiform and Egyptian emblems.

If this view be correct, it is curious to note how the various developments of one system overlapped each other. The Phœnician alphabet, developed from the Egyptian, was the returning wave which superseded the

Altaic system in both the Cypriote and also in the Cuneiform developments. Yet in a remote past this alphabet, developed by the Semitic peoples, had been originated (through the Egyptian hieroglyphs) by the same great race which used the syllabaries of Cyprus and of Babylon. The Aryans in Greece, the Semitic tribes in Babylonia and in Syria, used first the Altaic syllabaries, and afterwards adopted the alphabets which had the same original derivation. In fact, no Asiatic system of writing can, on this theory, be distinguished as having other than an Altaic origin.*

* The genealogy of these systems would, therefore, be as follows :



The Eastern branches never reached the fourth stage, and their late syllabaries were in time superseded by the various alphabets which sprang from the Phœnician ; but both Cypriote and Cuneiform were still in use as late as 300 B.C ; Persian Cuneiform with thirty-six letters still retained a few ideograms.

IX.

THE CANAANITE CONNECTION.

As yet we have treated our subject without any regard to the Hittites, to whom the hieroglyphs are popularly ascribed. The question raised by many inquirers of late has been—are these symbols really Hittite, or not? The answer must first be sought in an inquiry as to who the Hittites may have been.

I do not aim at reproducing all the valuable materials which are collected in Dr. Wright's 'Empire of the Hittites,' which must be consulted (in the second edition) by those who would learn in detail what is said of this people in the Bible, and on the records of Egypt and of Assyria. In 'Syrian Stone-Lore' I have marshalled the leading facts,

and I will only say that the earliest collection of Egyptian references with which I am acquainted is that to be found in the monograph by Chabas (dated 1866) on the journey of an Egyptian Mohar in the fourteenth century B.C.* The French scholar, so far, anticipated Dr. Wright and Professor Sayce as well.

Turning first, then, to the names of kings of the Hittites, which occur on the monuments of Egypt, and to the names of towns in Syria (some of which are clearly Semitic) conquered by Thothmes III. and by Rameses II., we can obtain some idea of the language of the Kheta in Northern Syria; and I think it will be possible to conclude that they were an Altaic tribe. The Biblical notices might next be compared, and the type and complexion of the Kheta on Egyptian monuments must also be considered; after which still more interesting questions will

* 'Voyage d'un Égyptien en Syrie,' etc., F. Chabas, Paris, 1866, p. 329.

demand a short inquiry. The names are taken from the list given by Professor Sayce, which is more complete than that prepared by Chabas, though the list given by Chabas has the advantage that it shows the hieroglyphs, and has also been consulted.

KHETA KINGS MENTIONED IN EGYPTIAN.

1. *Tartisebu*, or *Tardisebu*. — ‘Chief Prince.’*
2. *Peis*, or *Patz*. — Pa-sa, ‘sceptred.’
3. *Karbatous*, or *Galbatutz*. — ‘Great . . .’
4. *Smaritas*. — Dimir-tas, (?) ‘god-hero.’†
5. *Tiatar*, or *Tatar*. — Ditar, ‘judge.’‡
6. *Khelep sar*. — ‘Ruler of Aleppo.’
7. *Kamaiz*, or *Kamais*. — Compare Carchemish, from *gam*, ‘force.’

* Essepu = *Sar* or ‘Prince’ (W. A. I., v. 30-5), an Akkadian word borrowed in Assyrian (‘Trans. Bib. Arch. Soc.’ viii, p. 62).

† Taśśak, ‘hero’ (‘T. B. A.’ vi., p. 390). See final note.

‡ In Professor Sayce’s list from the Cuneiform we have Sadi Anteru, perhaps Set-An-Tar; also Tulia, which may read Turia, from Tur, the Akkadian for ‘chief,’ or ‘son,’ which is in Proto-Medic Tar.

8. *Tarukannas* or *Tarkananas*. — ‘Chief with god,’ or ‘with Nana’ (mother-goddess).
9. *Tarkatazas*, or *Tarkatasatz*. — ‘Chief hero.’ (See No. 3, note.)
10. *Zuzase*. — Compare the Zuzim, and Zuza-rurai tribe.
11. *Rabsunna*, or *Labsunna*. — (Lab = brave.)*
12. *Masrima* (?). — (Mas = soldier.)
13. *Totar*. — (Compare No. 5, Tatar), ‘become chief’† (?).
14. *Khetasar*. — ‘Hittite ruler.’
15. *Maurasar*, or *Mulsar*. — ‘Lord ruler.’‡
16. *Sap-lel*, or *Saph-rer*. — Compare Saph.§
17. *Motur*, or { ‘I judge.’ (?)
18. *Motenar* { ‘I powerful.’ (?)

* Compare the Susian S’unki = ‘empire,’ and Proto-Medic S’unkuk = ‘king,’ both from S’un.

† Compare the Proto-Medic Tartu = ‘judgment.’

‡ Akkadian Mul, ‘lord,’ as in Mul-ge, ‘lord below,’ which was the name afterwards rendered Mcloch by Semitic peoples.

§ There was a Susian god called Sap ak, or ‘Sap-ish,’ but I do not know what Sap (the Philistine Saph) may mean. We have Tarkhu-lar king of the Gamgamai. Tarku or Tarak seems to be *Tar-ak*, ‘great chief.’

19. *Akama*, or *Agam*.—Ai-gam, 'strong father' (?).
20. *Kauī Sira*.—'King Judge,' or 'Ruler of Kui.'
21. *Nezira*.—Perhaps 'lordly.'*
22. *Sap sar*.—'Sap ruler' (compare No. 16).
23. *Tadil*, or *Tatir*.—Compare No. 5, Tatar.
24. *Zuazas*.—Compare No. 10.
25. *Aakitasebu*.—Aka-it-essepu, ? 'crowned prince.'

The evidence of this list seems to confirm what I have already said† as to the probable Altaic origin of the Hittites, judging only from the words Tar and Sar, which belong to the Proto-Medic and allied dialects. I have no doubt that the comparison can be

* In Susian, which is an Altaic dialect, Nazi means 'Lord,' according to Lenormant. We have Tarkhu-nazi as a king of the Gamgamai in Professor Sayce's list from the Cuneiform. See also final note.

† 'Syrian Stone-Lore,' p. 16, note.

carried further. Essepu and Nazi are highly valuable and important words.

With this list the personal appearance of the Hittites as represented at Karnak is in complete accord. They are a hairless people with long thin moustache—like that of the Chinese—light complexion, the head partly shaven, and a clear and unmistakable pigtail. The eyes seem to have a slight inclination; the facial angle is oblique. This was pointed out to me in 1882 by the late Dr. Birch, and my remark on the subject in ‘Heth and Moab’ has been reproduced by several later writers. Perrot has given a couple of heads from the drawings of Rosellini, which Dr. Birch showed me.* I submit that we can have no doubt that the Hittites were an Altaic tribe, and that since we know them to have lived in Carchemish and Hamath, and find in both places texts which are shown in-

* ‘Heth and Moab,’ 1883, p. 26; Perrot, ‘Hist. de l’Art,’ vol. iv., 1886, p. 708; Rosellini, Plate ciii.

dependently to be written in an Altaic language, the result is clear. *Dr. Wright was right when in 1874 he announced as a new idea that the Hamath stones were of Hittite origin.* The fact could not then be proved, but now I believe it is certain.

NAMES OF TOWNS, ETC., IN SYRIA, ETC.,
NOTICED ON THE EGYPTIAN MONUMENTS.

These chiefly belong to the Karnak geographical lists of the reign of Thothmes III. I take them from the same paper which has given us the Cuneiform list prepared by Professor Sayce. They also occur in Brugsch's 'History of Egypt,' and in many other works. I select only the names which can, I think, be read. Many of the names in the lists (*e.g.*, Kadesh, Tell-Bentha, etc.) are known to be Semitic; and the monuments of Rameses II. show us that the Hittites of Kadesh had Semitic allies or subjects. I have already enlarged on this subject in

‘Heth and Moab’ and in ‘Syrian Stone-Lore.’ The Egyptian lists give us no less than 145 towns in the Hittite country.’

Aanreka. — Perhaps A-an-re-ga, ‘water streaming.’*

Aares. — ‘A-re-se, ‘water flow by.’

Abatha. — ‘Town of Ata’† (an Asiatic goddess).

Aubillina. — ‘Town of height.’ Pil, a common Altaic word for ‘hill.’

Ai. — ‘Mound.’

Amarseki. — Amar-sak, ‘round top.’‡

Anaukas. — Perhaps Enuk-as, ‘lords.’§

Annani. — Compare the god Anna, or Anai, ‘king.’||

* That is to say, ‘a town by a river.’ *Ā-an* is ‘rain.’

† *Up*, ‘city,’ Proto-Medic. *Ab*, ‘abode,’ Akkadian.

‡ Probably on a knoll. The first word means ‘a circle.’

§ The Anaugas were a tribe or race. The *as* may be for *mes* or *ues*, the plural (*mes* became finally *s*. See ‘Trans. Bib. Arch. Soc.,’ iv., p. 481). This, perhaps, gives us the Anak-im, as the Hebrews called them.

|| An, Anna, Annab, Anunna, are words in Akkadian for ‘god’ or ‘gods;’ and Anai and Enu, ‘king’ and

Ar.—Ur, 'city' or 'foundation.'

Arnema.—Ur-Nim, 'high city.'

Arnir.—Ur-Nir, 'city of the ruler' (?).

Arukan.—Uru-gan, 'walled city.'

Atha Kar.—'Fort of goddess Athe'
(Professor Sayce).

Athetama.—Ata-dam (?), 'Lady Athe' (?).*

Atur.—Ā-dur, 'water fort.'

Aukan.—Perhaps Ē-gam, 'House mighty.'

Bagaru.—Pak-uru (?), 'chief town.'

Ithakab.—Itta-kip (?), 'at the hill.'

Iurima.—Uri-mes (?), 'cities.'

Kainab.—Gan-ub (?), 'enclosure town.'

Kairuga.—Kar-uk, 'fortified.'

Kanu.—Gan, 'enclosure.'

'lord.' In Proto-Medic we have Annap, 'god;' as also An and Annap in Susian. In Susian Anin is 'king.'

* Athe (see Professor Sayce, 'Trans. Bib. Arch. Soc.,' vii., p. 259) was adored at Palmyra; and at Bambyce we have 'Athar 'Atheh, apparently connected with Atargatis, or Derketo. Professor Sayce says the figure on the coins of Ati at Hierapolis is that of a goddess; but Athas, Ati, or Attis was a god, I should suppose to be connected with the Proto-Medic Atu, 'father' (Akkadian Ad and Adda).

Kanretu.—Gan-rud (?), 'city of chief' (?).*

Karshaua.—'Fortress of the Shua.'

Kati.—'Place,' or 'town' (Proto-Medic)
= Gath.

Katina.—Kat-enu, 'town of chief' (?).

Khaitu.—Perhaps Khat-u, 'Hittite house.'

Khatuma.†—Perhaps Khat-ub, 'Hittite town.'

Kushpata.† — Perhaps Cushite fortress
(Kus-bat).

Legaba.†—'Lion town' (compare Semitic Lebu).

Ma-shua.—'Land of the Shua.'

Maturi. — Perhaps Ma-turit, 'border-land.'

Matanu.—Compare Medan and Mede.

Maurika. — Muriga (Adjective) Mur =
brick.

* *Rud* is apparently a Proto-Medic word for 'man.' This word is the Chinnereth of the Bible (not the same place, however), which became the later Gennesareth, or 'enclosure of the chief,' in the Semitic language.

† In these words we have frequently, I think, the Proto-Medic form of the genitive.

Maurmar.—Mermer, a deity.*

Murunasa.—Perhaps from Murun, 'earth.'

Nenuranazntha.—Chief city of Nana (?).

Ni.—'Protection' (?).

Nishapa.† — Perhaps Nazi-ub, 'chief's city' (?).

Papabi.—Bab-ub, 'opposite city' (?).

Pakiu.—From Pak or Paku, 'above' (?).

Sari.—From Sar, 'ruler.'

Sathekh-beg.—'. . . Set' (?).‡

Suka.—Perhaps Sak = head.

Suki beki.—Sak-Pak, 'head above.'

Thalekh.—Perhaps Tar-akh, 'good chief.'

Thepkanna.—Perhaps Tep-gan, 'town of the hill.'—A common Altaic word.

Thethup.§—Perhaps Set-ub, 'Set town.'

* Mer-mer = Rimmon ('Trans. Bib. Arch. Soc.,' vi., p. 390), possibly connected with Mar-mar mentioned by the Mohar.

† See note (†), p. 134.

‡ Clearly the word Sutekh, one of the Egyptian forms of the name of Set, already discussed in speaking of Altaic gods. *Pak* is perhaps the origin of the Turkish word Beg, or Bashi, meaning a chief, used by the Syrians to the present day, and may be the *Beg* in this word.

§ See note (†), p. 134.

Thuka.—Tak, 'a stone or monument.'

Unai.—Perhaps Un-ai, 'Chiefs mound.'

Taiath Khirrii.—Dê-at-Khar (?), 'interior of mountain.'

Zagal.—Ziggar, 'monument.'

Kalipa.—Kar-ub (?), 'fortress city.'

Karika.—Kar-uk, 'fortified.'

Khiriza.—Perhaps Khar-asa, 'mountain plateau.'

We have thus possible translations of no less than fifty-six names of places in the Hittite country, which seem to me clearly to be Altaic. That they are not Semitic has long been seen by all students. The Egyptian transliteration is not always reliable, as I know by experience, in studying the lists of Semitic cities in Palestine which belong to the same enumeration.* I think, however, that it will be possible for scholars very con-

* See my list in the 'Memoirs of the Palestine Survey' (volume of special papers). M. Maspero has since adopted many of the identifications which I proposed in 1876, in addition to those of Mariette.

siderably to enlarge and improve upon the present attempt, and that the only real difficulty lies in distinguishing in some cases the Semitic and the Altaic names, since no such distinction occurs in the Egyptian, and because the Semitic languages absorbed a great many Altaic words, as has been recognised by great authorities.

The preceding study has, I venture to think, established the fact of the Altaic origin of the Hittites, and has also established the Hittite origin of the texts found at Aleppo, Hamath, and Carchemish. It thus serves to strengthen our case in favour of the Altaic origin of the hieroglyphics under consideration. Were this all that we knew, we might very well suppose that all such monuments were of Hittite origin, and the term 'Hittite Empire' would be justified.* We now see why the

* It is due to Dr. Wright to say that in the preface of his second edition he explains that the title 'Empire of the Hittites lays no claim to scientific precision,' and that in the case of the battles at Megiddo and at Kadesh he

Semitic Phœnicians adored Istar, Tammuz, Nergal, Zid, and other Altaic deitiès. The name Kharu, for the Phœnicians, generally connected with the Semitic Akharu, 'the west,' may really mean 'the mountain' (Khar)—that is to say, the Lebanon chain. As to the name Kheta, Khatti, Khetti, we can only speculate. If it be correct to connect it with Kittim (the Semitic form of Kittu), then Heth means 'the setting sun'—that is to say, the west; and the Hittites were in fact, as we have now I think proved, the western branch of the old Altaic stock.*

I have always felt that the theory of a 'Hittite Empire' rested on no very secure

only regards the King of the Hittites as having under his command 'the surrounding people either as subjects or as allies' (p. ix.).

* This is, however, doubtful, nor do I feel at all convinced that the Kētaioi of Homer were Hittites. They might have been Cyprians, perhaps. Renan and Perrot have given arguments in favour of connecting the Kheta and Kittim.

base. If we had found the Hittites to belong to some distinct race, the theory might be still necessary, but it is so no longer. On the monuments we hear of the Hittites only as a powerful and civilized tribe of Syria. The tribes of Asia Minor did not bear the name. In the Bible we have no notice of a Hittite Empire, but only of the chiefs of the Hittite country—which was Northern Syria.* Herodotus could not have had any personal objection to the Hittites, but he certainly never tells us of a Hittite Empire, nor does any other ancient writer. This empire was not, I think, ‘forgotten,’ for it never existed. The

* There is surely no difficulty in the notice of Hittites in Hebron in the days of Abraham, since the monuments of Rameses II. are nearly 1000 years later than the ordinary date of Abraham. The name Hatta in Philistia, as I have long since pointed out, may show that the Hittites once existed in the South of Palestine. In the times of the Judges (about the date of Rameses II.), and in the time of Solomon, the Bible speaks only of Hittites in the north.

point may seem very unimportant, but I think one reason why the texts have never been previously read is because they were not recognised as Altaic, and because the Hittites were regarded as a distinct stock.

X.

OTHER CONNECTIONS.

THE field of future inquiry will not be limited to Syria or to Anatolia, for the Altaic tribes spread over Iran and Northern India. In Asia Minor we know that the Greeks adopted the Altaic hieroglyphs, and but for this, and for the decipherment by G. Smith of the Cypriote, we could never have read the Hittite stones. Much light has been thrown of late years on Greek history by the tracing of Phœnician and Aramean influences, as well as by a better knowledge of Aryan languages ; but in Asia Minor, at least, a third influence—that of the Altaic tribes—may be expected in the future to clear up many doubtful points. Professor Sayce has de-

voted much attention to the subject, and, in due proportion with the other branches of the study (Semitic and Aryan), it seems capable of very considerable development.*

A study of the Zendavesta also shows us how powerful was the Median influence in Iran. The Akkadian hymns are the true sources of much of the phraseology of the Yashts ; the Akkadian laws were the prototypes in many cases of those in the Vendidad. Babylonian cosmogonies and astronomical theories, Akkadian lists of animals and of countries, were the originals of those curious chapters in the ' Bundahish ' which describe

* The Basque language in France has long been known to be very closely connected with the Akkadian. Lenormant has given a section of his ' Magie ' to this subject. Moreover, a connection has been suspected between the Akkadian and Etruscan. The Etruscan *calceus repandus* was the same shape as the Altaic boot, and their representation of the infernal god was very like that of Mul-ge on M. Peretié's plaque. Mr. Hyde Clarke states that the languages of Asia Minor are akin to Etruscan.

the phenomena of nature and the classes of created beings. The Vara or garden where Yima lived may be seen represented on cylinders popularly called Hittite, and survives in the square enclosure near Kadesh in Syria, called 'Noah's Ark.' The dependence of many legends of the Avesta on Akkadian originals is illustrated in the case of Kavâd, who was as a child * 'abandoned on a river,' just as Sargina floated on the Euphrates in his cradle of reeds. Aryan and Semitic elements are discernible in the Avesta and in the Pehlevi scriptures, but the basis, perhaps, is Median.

As regards the Chinese picture-writing, also, there seems no improbability in the conjecture that it may have a common origin with the Altaic.† Were we able to go back to the oldest forms in each case, we might

* 'Bundahish,' xxxi. 24.

† This connection I find mentioned by Mr. Hyde Clarke, in 1880, but I have not seen his paper illustrating the connection between Cuneiform and Chinese.

very probably arrive at a common origin for Chinese and Egyptian, for similarities are not unnoted between the two systems. Such an inquiry, however, would require much caution, since comparisons of late developments might prove illusive.

In India, as Professor de Lacouperie tells us, the Vayu (a Gangetic tongue) and the Santhali (a Kolarian language), both of Central India, are branches of the Turanian Himalaic. This may cast some light on the remarkable parallelisms between the Hindu (Puranic) mythology and that of Mesopotamia. Brahma, Siva, and Vishnu are very closely akin to Anna, Mulge, and Ea; and the very rude ideas of this mythology, as compared with the Vedic (especially its Phallic peculiarities), have induced many students to suppose that, late as the existing Puranas and the Mahabharatam appear to be, they yet preserve the religion of the pre-Aryan population of India. The Hindu zodiac, and many similar astronomical facts,

may have been derived at a late period from Babylon ; but the coarser ideas of the Puranas may represent those of the Kausikas and other tribes, more or less remotely connected with the Akkadians.

On the Phœnicians the Hittites seem to have had great influence. It is not the case that the latter worshipped Semitic gods. On the contrary, it was from the Altaic race that much of the civilization of the Semitic people was derived, and the Phœnician Pantheon is in great measure of Hittite origin.

I have alluded briefly to these questions because they seem to strengthen my case. A solution which seems to meet so many requirements, to knit together so many independent facts—often considered contradictory, but only because imperfectly understood — cannot, I think, be regarded as arbitrary. The natural explanation must be that which will account for all that has previously been ascertained by serious students

of the subject, in whose path I have tried, however imperfectly, to direct my steps.

NOTE.—The modern Turkish retains unchanged many old Altaic words, though the language is not as near to Akkadian as the Finnish. Out of a list kindly prepared for me by Major Watson, C.M.G., R.E., the following are clearly connected. The first five were compared by Lenormant :

Turkish	<i>Ai,</i>	moon.	Akkadian	<i>Ai,</i>	moon.
„	<i>Ev,</i>	house.	„	<i>Ē,</i>	house.
„	<i>Nene,</i>	mother.	„	<i>Nana,</i>	mother.
„	<i>Tangri,</i>	god.	„	<i>Dingira,</i>	god.
„	<i>Tash,</i>	stone.	„	<i>Tak,</i>	stone.
„	<i>Su,</i>	water.	„	<i>Su,</i>	river.
„	<i>Bash,</i>	head.	„	<i>Pak,</i>	above.
„	<i>Parla,</i>	shine.	„	<i>Par,</i>	day.
„	<i>dah,</i>	at.	„	<i>ta,</i>	at.
„	<i>deh,</i>	in.	„	<i>de,</i>	interior.
„	<i>iki,</i>	two.	„	<i>kas,</i>	two.
„	<i>alti,</i>	six.	„	<i>as,</i>	six.
„	<i>Yer,</i>	earth.	„	<i>Ar,</i>	land.
„	<i>leh,</i>	with.	„	<i>li,</i>	with.
„	<i>m,</i>	my.	„	<i>mu,</i>	my.
„	<i>Yap,</i>	build.	„	<i>Up,</i>	city.

XI.

SUMMARY.

I PROPOSE, in conclusion, to summarize the preceding arguments, and to point out briefly the evidence which has accumulated in favour of my proposed decipherment of the Altaic hieroglyphs.

1st. On the basis of Professor Sayce's comparison, in 1876, of the Cypriote and Hamathite—but with the aid of many Cypriote texts not then known—I have attempted to show that twenty-one sounds giving twenty-one words, all of the Proto-Medic or of the Akkadian dialect, may be identified on the Altaic texts, of which sounds Professor Sayce has already determined at least eight.

2nd. Among these sounds are the personal pronouns and the commoner particles and grammatical forms which are used in Akkadian.

3rd. The grammar which belongs to these dialects appears to be reconcilable with the occurrence of these symbols on the known Altaic texts of Hamath and Carchemish, etc.

4th. These identifications agree exactly with the values of the symbols on the bilingual Altaic and Cuneiform boss of Tarrikimme, as determined by Professor Sayce, though his connection of No. 6 with the Cypriote is not apparently correct, and though he has given no phonetic value to the symbols Nos. 3 and 4.

5th. The discovery of the language renders it possible to assign known phonetic values to many other emblems, through a comparison with the ideographic values in Cuneiform and in Egyptian.

6th. The result gives to us in a natural manner the names of nine or ten of the

deities adored by those who wrote these inscriptions. These deities prove in each case to be Akkadian, and well known—a fact which agrees completely with the initial theory as to the language.*

7th. The subject of the inscriptions is exactly what we should have expected. They occur on statues of the gods, and they are invocations only, like those on the earliest Egyptian monuments, and very closely akin to the magical texts of the Akkadians. In seven cases they appear to begin with the word *En* ('prayer' or 'charm'), which stands at the commencement of so many of the Akkadian texts already known from the Cuneiform, and the prayers in several cases end with variations of that form of words

* Moreover, Tammuz, Āa, and Bilgi are enumerated together in the same order as on the Akkadian tablets ('Trans. Bib. Arch. Soc.,' viii., p. 165). These three gods, Sun, Water, Fire, are called 'the three lords of justice' in Akkadian, and are the three chief deities of the Zendavesta.

which in Akkadian answered to *Amanu*, or 'Amen,' in the Assyrian translation. Bertin has remarked on the difference of subject between Akkadian and Sumerian inscriptions. 'In Akkadian,' he says, 'we have historical records, magical incantations, and hymns.' It is only natural that the oldest records should be magical, and they carry us back to a state of civilization similar to that of the wilder Mongolian peoples of the present age.

8th. The decipherment is materially advanced by a comparison of the hieroglyphics with the oldest known Cuneiform symbols which approach the later forms of hieratic emblems on the monuments—especially the Babylonian bowl. This comparison has, I believe, never before been attempted, and it would indeed be very difficult, were it not for the identity of the language. The most important result of this inquiry is the striking identification of the emblems for fire. In the hands of specialists the comparison so ini-

tiated seems capable of very complete development.

9th. The observed parallelism between the Altaic and the Egyptian systems is not arbitrary. It rests on a scientific basis, and it agrees with similarities observed by various scholars between the Cuneiform and the Egyptian. This also is a subject worthy of further study, and from which new results of interest may be expected.

10th. By a study of the names of kings and towns noticed in Egyptian records, we are able to show that the language of the Hittites was the same which occurs on the monuments under consideration, and thus to prove that the stones of Hamath and of Carchemish are in all probability of Hittite origin: this confirms the view propounded by Dr. Wright no less than twelve years ago.

11th. This conclusion tallies exactly with the Egyptian representation of the Hittites as a Mongolian race.

12th. The distribution of the monuments,

the occurrence of the character on seals from Nineveh, and on objects from Cappadocia and from Babylon, now presents no difficulty. The race which produced these has long been known to have existed both in Mesopotamia and also in Asia Minor.

13th. The linguistic evidence is in perfect accord with what we gather from the Bible concerning the Canaanite races; it also agrees well with what is there said concerning the derivation of certain Egyptian tribes, and of the Philistines in Southern Palestine.

14th. It will now appear that the texts can, without torturing a single syllable, be made to give a consecutive sense. Some short texts like that behind the king's head at Ibreez are specially instructive, since the rendering seems natural and appropriate.

15th. The system is at once rigid and elastic. It assigns one monosyllabic value to each emblem, but it is reconcilable with the discovery of many emblems yet unknown, representing words which do not belong to

the subject of the known texts. No system of *alphabetic* decipherment would possess this advantage, and no *real* alphabet occurs in any hieroglyphic system. On the other hand, as Professor Sayce long ago pointed out, hieroglyphics could not be used in Semitic languages, because they are inflexional tongues, which is the reason of the invention of syllabaries and alphabets.

16th. Finally, I would wish to restate in a few words the claim I have to make, so that no misunderstanding may be possible. *I do not claim to have discovered the sounds belonging to the syllables*; the sole credit for this is due, I believe, to Professor Sayce, who in 1876 discovered some eight sounds by aid of the Cypriote; and on this discovery my own is based. *But no one has previously succeeded in identifying the language to which these sounds belong*; and Professor Sayce has never gone further than to suggest—without giving detailed proof—a connection with Georgian. *I do not claim that my renderings*

are either complete or final. Special knowledge is required to make them so, and I think years must elapse before the texts are quite deciphered ; *but I hope to put in the hands of scholars a key whereby they may attain to such final translation.*

If I may be permitted to suggest the kind of work which would now be most useful towards the elucidation of our subject, I should propose :

1st. A more extended and complete comparison of ideographic values between the Altaic emblems and the oldest forms of linear and archaic Babylonian Cuneiform. It is from this, I think, that we may now get most light, and this should be conducted on the basis of a special knowledge of Proto-Medic and Akkadian.

2nd. The comparison between Cuneiform and Egyptian should be developed and published.

3rd. It would be interesting to know whether the character used at Eyuk and

Boghaz Keui possesses any peculiarities. The text in eleven lines at the latter place, as mentioned by Perrot, is said to be too much decayed to be copied ; but if only parts could be reproduced, valuable results might follow.

4th. The existing copies from the casts of the Hamath stones require to be revised from the stones themselves, or from very perfect casts. The stones are at Constantinople. The cast of the Hamath Stone No. v. especially is illegible in parts—perhaps on account of the condition of the original.

Last of all, a word or two may be said as to the apparent age of these inscriptions. The history of Babylonia goes back to 3000 B.C., and even to 3800 B.C., if we may believe Nabonahid ; but the oldest Cuneiform texts are probably very much later. Some are even acknowledged copies in clay from older basalt monuments. The Altaic hieroglyphs must be older than the linear Babylonian texts—how much older we cannot say,

although it is possible that the two systems might exist side by side, as did the hieratic and the hieroglyphic in Egypt ; and it is not, therefore, certain that the existing monuments of Hamath and Carchemish are of necessity the work of the ages preceding the use of Cuneiform.* On the other hand, it would seem that the sculptures which accompany the Altaic hieroglyphs are always much more archaic and clumsy in character than are the Assyrian bas-reliefs on which Cuneiform inscriptions are cut. This favours the idea that they are more antique.

We are not left without some indication of date. Dr. Gollob's discovery of the cartouche of Rameses II. on the weeping Niobe gives us a clear indication that the Altaic emblems on that monument are older than about 1350 B.C. : the characters in this case

* The clay tablet stands to the basalt monument in the relation of the papyrus to the granite in Egypt, *i.e.*, of hieratic to hieroglyphic.

do not seem to be marked by any peculiarities of archaic nature.

We may, therefore, fairly assume that the Hamath and Carchemish stones are at least as old as Moses, and perhaps as old as Abraham; and there is good reason to suppose that they are the oldest monuments yet found in Asia.

We have noticed that there are apparent gradations in the character used on the various known texts which indicate a considerable range of time during which these characters must have been used. The Tyana text is one of the latest; the Babylonian bowl—which is almost Cypriotic in its character—is probably quite the latest of the texts as yet discovered. As regards the text at Marash above the heads of the deities, the picture given by Perrot is hardly enough to allow of our judging as to its date. I should, however, be inclined to think that the incised inscriptions are later than those which are in relief. The Egyptian parallel favours such a

view, since the oldest Egyptian texts are in relief, but those of Rameses II. in intaglio.

I append to this short memoir my suggestions as to translation, and the notes necessary to explain my views. I ask serious students, in whose steps I have trod, to give me a fair hearing ; and I cannot but feel some confidence that since I am only carrying on their work, and have not attempted, I hope, to do more than my knowledge of the subject permits, they will, while correcting my errors and supplementing my deficiencies, still feel justified in giving me a generally favourable verdict as regards the reality of the discovery of a language on these monuments closely akin to Proto-Medic and Akkadian.

ANALYSIS.

I.—THE BILINGUAL.

THE silver boss, discovered about twenty years ago, and now lost, was electrotyped by Mr. Ready, and also by Lenormant; and these copies were recovered by Professor Sayce (see Wright, p. 165, 2nd edition). The reading of the Cuneiform text round the boss, given and supported by Professor Sayce, is as follows :

Tarrik-timme Sar Mat Erme—‘Tarrik-timme, king of the country of Erme.’

The six Altaic emblems, which are repeated in the field on either side of the king’s figure, I propose to read :

TAR(UK)	DIM	KU	MA	AR-	ME
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)

This reading I support as follows :

No. 1. The word *dar*, or *tar*, means a 'deer' in Akkadian. The first symbol is perhaps an ibex-head. The affix *uk* for 'great' is either understood, or would follow from the species represented, which has a beard, whereas the deer in other cases is usually represented without.*

No. 2. *Dim*. A very unusual emblem. In Akkadian *dim* means a 'source,' and we might conjecture that water springing from a mountain is intended by the emblem. A comparison of the linear Babylonian word for 'mother' suggests, however, that the word may be connected with *dam*, for 'wife,' and the emblem akin to the triangle, which Renan connects with the female principle in

* A good many species of deer are mentioned in Akkadian lists. A very good ibex occurs on Jerabis text No. II., line 1.

Phœnicia.* *Dim* also means 'to create.' I propose to compare the Cuneiform emblem *Dim*. Professor Sayce has recognised the pictorial meaning of this emblem.

No. 3. *Ku*, the Akkadian word for 'king;' the sound is recoverable from the form of the Cypriote *Ko*.†

No. 4. *Ma*, the Akkadian word for 'country.' The sound is recoverable from the Cypriote *Mi*.‡

No. 5. *Ar*, recoverable from the Cypriote *La*. It is the emblem frequently used for the post-position, *Ra*, on the other monuments.§

No. 6. *Me*. The sign of the plural on other monuments in this script. In Akkadian *Mes* is the sound of the plural affix. It may, however, here be pronounced *Me*, as in Proto-Medic and Susian, bringing us into exact accord with the Cuneiform.

* This emblem seems to occur on the terra-cotta seals.

† See back, p. 19.

‡ See back, p. 17.

§ See back, p. 44.

II.—HAMATH STONE No. 1.

See Wright, Plate I. and p. 139. The cast is at South Kensington. I read as follows :

	TA	PAL	ID	PAK	EN		
← KA	E	SA	PAK?	DE			
	LI	LI		ME	MES		
				LI	MES		
	KU	E	Pot?	NI	ZO	KE	
→	NE	RI	Ā	E	KU	KU	
	MU	KA	RE?	LI	ME	LI	
	TI	A	U?	MU	KE	KE	IT
←	NI	GAN?	TA	ME	TI	KA	
	E		NI				

The arrows in this and all subsequent cases show the direction in which the line is to be read, concerning which no dispute has arisen. The published copy shows part of a *Ku* after the last *Ti*; but I have looked carefully at the cast, and I think it is only a portion of the stone left projecting.

The literal translation of these words is as follows :

1. Prayers, above-go-be (plural) -ing. Throne (or holiness) (above?), sword-with-ing and power-ful towards (or for).*

2. King (intensitive)-my worship (*Eri*)-for. (Pot?) water (pour?) him-ing King King-spirit be-as-ing.†

3. *It-ka-ti-kek-me* (Amen). { May compel, (cloud-flow?) water-him-to. }‡

This appears barbarous enough in English words, but, as I have shown, with regard to nearly every symbol on this stone in the preceding pages, the construction is that proper to an agglutinative language; and the prefixed, and affixed, and suffixed particles are

* The *Ka* here ends the preceding 'packet.' See grammatical rule 6, p. 78.

† See back, p. 46, for explanation. It appears to be a form of the *Kakama* found as Amen in Akkadian prayers known through the Cuneiform.

‡ Perhaps *Um-ta-ni*, perhaps *Ta-ni-mu*. The whole clause is still very doubtful.

in their right places. A few notes are required.

Line 1. The two double blocks for *Mes* are in other cases four strokes, as we may prove (see back, p. 48) by comparing the various recurrences of the group for 'fire.' In the second group, *Pak* is provisional phonetically. The foot within it is quite clear on the cast. The word *Id* for throne is provisional; the emblem was identified by Professor Sayce. In Cuneiform and in Egyptian alike the throne is the emblem of deity, of holiness, of power, and of majesty. The emblem beneath is not *Li*, but apparently *Pak*, the 'firmament.'

Line 2. *Eri*, to worship—as in Eriaku, the king's name. It is apparently formed from *Ri*, to shine, with the syllable *E* or *A* above.*

The third group in this line seems to me to

* *Ri* has been explained before, Plate I., No. 6; Plate V., No. 4. *Ri* is 'shine,' *Ir* is 'light.'

represent a diota, with the emblem of water, and an emblem (possibly) for 'pour' below. This may not be right, but the group is fortunately independent. The *Zo* may follow *Ku-ku*; or may, perhaps, come over the second *Ku*, as on the third Hamath stone, so that we should read, 'King Spirit King,' or 'King King Spirit being.' I have given my reasons for *Zo*, which is clearly the Cypriote *Zo*.*

Line 3. The only doubtful emblem seems to be *Gan*.† The *Tan* has its proper prefixed position, as meaning 'compel.'

* See Plate I., No. 3.

† It is, of course, doubtful if the emblem is *gan*, 'enclosure,' representing a tank. In Akkadian we have, according to Lenormant, *gan-ul* for the 'pipes' connected with the rain (*a-an*), recalling the 'water-bags' which in the Old Testament represent the clouds—the 'water-barrels' of the Vedas, which are clouds. If this be the meaning, the tank is shown with water pouring out of one angle, and by vertical-lines inside the enclosure. The group might then mean 'cloud pour (or flow) water his.' The water-pot *Ā* also has vertical lines within to represent the water. *Gan* is also a 'cloud' in Akkadian.

FREE RENDERING.

1. Prayers upgoing. For the Holy One above, mighty and powerful. 2. Worship for my King (pouring him ?) (a libation ?). The King who is the Spirit King (or King of life). 3. Amen. May it make the water of the sky (or cloud, to flow ?).

Which would mean : ' Let prayers rise up to the Holy One above, mighty and strong. May my Lord be adored with libations. The Lord, the Spiritual Lord. Amen. (May he grant me rain.' ?)

The last clause is very doubtful, and special study may greatly improve this rough attempt.

III.—HAMATH STONE No. 2.

This was one of which I gave a proposed translation in the *Times*; but the copy which I followed, and which professed to be from the cast, I find has the third line of H. I. by mistake; and Dr. Wright has given the correct copy on his first plate—this alters the last clause. This inscription seems never to have been quite finished. There is room for two more groups in the third line, where the stone remains untouched by the chisel (Wright, p. 139).

	KU	AS	KE	KA	TA	PAL	ID	PAK	EN
←		NI	GA	LI	F, SA	PAK?	DE		
	KU						ME	MES	
		E			LI		LI	MES	

GU?	GU	KU?	MU	KA	KU	E --	RI	ZO	KE?
→	NI	ID?	E?	GU?	NE	RINI	MU	KU	KU
					MU	KA	ENI	LI?	

←			GA	E	MU	TA	KE	KE	IT
			LI	(?)	NI	ME	TI	KA	

This is not as easy as the preceding, because the second line is apparently injured on the left, and the cast doubtful; while one emblem remains without explanation. In the third line, also, the noun or verb after *Tanimu* is one which I cannot explain. It may be Nim, 'high,' but this is only a conjecture.

The literal translation, as far as I understand the text, is as follows :

1. Prayer(s) above-go-be (pl.)-ing. Holy one (above?) sword-with-ing and powerful towards great* spell his. King King—
2. Word† say. (King and Holiness?) -my, word for. King(intensive)-my worship-towards (—)his worshipped,‡ King Spirit King being.
3. Amen. Cause . . . ing . . unfinished.

* The *gig* prefixed to nouns in Susian, etc., may be compared with *Kega*, as meaning 'great.' It is allied to the Akkadian *gig*.

† This *gu* is doubtful; it may be only a rough bit of the stone.

‡ *Ri-Mu-Ni*. Perhaps the *E* under *Ni* preceding belongs to this group, making *Eri Mun*, 'worshipped.'

This repeats parts of the preceding, and does not require many notes. In line 3 I have suggested *As*, 'spell,' as the subject (see Plate II., No. 13, and p. 66). The *Ni* after it seems to show that it must be a root, as does the *Kega* before it, if this be the correct value. The idea would be that of a charm or spell attracting the divinity; but a better explanation may be afforded by aid of the Cuneiform. In the second line the word *Gu* is provisional. It is a very common emblem, and Professor Sayce believed it to be *Kue* for 'worship.' The group *Ku-id-e* is very doubtful, the cast being much blurred. The sort of crane's head after *Eri-ka* I cannot explain. I am not quite certain either of the third *Gu*. In the third line I am also unable to explain the group after *Tani-mu*. Still we get, perhaps, enough to grasp the general idea of the text.

FREE RENDERING.

1. Prayers upgoing. A great charm for the Holy One above, mighty and powerful.
2. A cry calls the King of Kings. The Holy

King also I call towards.* My King even worship for worshipped. King Spirit King being. 3. Amen. May it make Which means :

‘May the uprising prayers be heard by the Holy One above, mighty and powerful. (I) Cry to the Lord of Lords. Even to my Holy One I cry. I worship my Lord . . . worshipped. The King who is the Spiritual Lord. Amen. May he make’

This is substantially my already published translation, with some grammatical improvements. Of course, some clauses are conjectural, and the whole may be much improved by special study.

* *Mu-gu-ka*, ‘I-say-towards’?

IV.—HAMATH STONE No. 3.

See Wright, Plate II. and p. 140. The stone was regarded by the natives of Hamath as a talisman. Thousands of people had stretched themselves on it to cure rheumatism, and believed they were cured, just as Celtic peasants used to lie on the dolmen stones. Perhaps it was originally a talisman, and the tradition survived the language of the prayer.*

	GU?	KU	NI KE	KA TA	SA ID	PAK EN
←			E GA	E LI	PAK?	DE
	NI	KU	AS	LI	PAL	MES MES
						LI

	GU?	. MU KA	KU E ID	Ā	ZO IT KE KE
	. .	GU?	NE RI PAK?	NI KU KU	
→	. .		MU KA E	E	KA TI ME
LI?	. .			RI	RI

* In Akkadian temples there was a sacred object called *Sagba*, or 'talisman' (Assyrian, *Mamitu*). Probably it would seem an inscribed tablet or plate like our stones.

The cast is very doubtful on the left of the second line.

FREE RENDERING.*

May the Holy One above, mighty and powerful, hear the uprising prayers. A cry crying to the Lord of Lords . . I adore my Lord. I adore the holy One above— $\bar{A}$.† The Lord, the Spiritual Lord of light. Amen.

* A literal rendering is hardly necessary, as this short text repeats those which have been already explained fully.

† 'The Holy One above, $\bar{A}$ -ni' (the *ni* marking the case) may be the An- $\bar{a}$ -mu of the next text, the $\bar{A}$ -a 'water,' or god of the moon and of water, who was adored at Jerabis, with Sun and Fire.

V.—HAMATH STONE No. 4.

See Wright, Plate III. and p. 140. The state of the cast, and perhaps of the original stone, makes some of the emblems on the left doubtful, and I think a new copy from the stone itself might be useful. The first line begins on the left, which is unusual.

→	AN	SHI?	Ā	AN					
	Ā	DU	NI?	Ē	KA	GU	MES	PA?	DIB?
	MU	TAR					KA	DU	KA MU

	KU?	ID	NI?	E	Altar	TA	TA	KY?	MU ME
←		PAK?	E						
		NE				(?)	ME	KA	NI KA
	Ā	ID	Altar	Ā	NE				

	Altar?	MU	KU	UL?	PAL		KU		[RI?
→	ME	NI	NE	KA	SA	KA	GU	NE	
							UL?	UL	TAR

	KY?	MES	A		GA?	GA?	AN	E	AN?
←			GU	EN		GU	E		
	KA	KA	NI	Altar?				KE	:

In this transliteration there are several provisional values. *Shi* ('horn'); *Pa* (a hand, apparently with sceptre round-headed); *Dib*,

an emblem much obliterated in the first line. In the second line *Ku* is doubtful ; so is what I have called *Pak*, dividing the two thrones ; but the ideographic value is evidently 'throne over throne,' or 'Holiest over Holy,' or 'majesty' (intensitive) 'over majesty.' The sign which follows these on the right is not the usual *Ke*. It seems to have wings.* The *Gu* under the next *Ta* is turned the wrong way, though fairly distinct on the cast. The altar shown on the copy is uncertain in the third line : on the cast it looked to me like *Ke*. A study of the cast also seems to me to show a deer's head, not a bull, as in the published copy. *Ul*, the fleur-de-lis, is provisional, though it might be the origin of the Cypriote *lu*. The next emblem, like a door-key, I suppose from the cast to be a much-worn *gu*. The fourth line is illegible on the right, and the fishing-rod emblem I

* It might perhaps be *Ni* prefixed to the altar to form the verb 'offer.' The cast is, however, indefinite.

do not understand, unless it be *ga*, 'belonging to.' The last group but one, which also occurs on line 1, is apparently a form of *Mes*.* The last emblem, *Kγ*, on the published copy, is indistinct on the cast, and very doubtful. With such difficulties still to surmount, a perfect reading is impossible, though a study of the stone at Constantinople might throw some light. This is the first appearance of the emblem, which I take to be an altar with a burning flame; but of the phonetic value I have not ventured to give any conjecture. We have an Akkadian text which illustrates this inscription, published by Lenormant (W. A. I., iv. 18, 3; 'Magie,' p. 33):

'The crowns . . . great shepherd . . . on the thrones and the altars . . . the sceptre of marble (?) . . . great shepherd.'

* The group *Gu-mes-ka*, 'words for,' is to be compared with *Guga*, 'pronounced,' and *Gugage*, 'word for,' on Akkadian magic tablets. ('Trans. Bib. Arch. Soc.,' vi., pp. 155, 194.)

Apparently an address to some king or deity.

The fourth Hamath stone is apparently an address to the water-god, called *An-ā-mu* in the first line, apparently 'My God $\bar{A}$ ' (or 'My god of water'). In the second line he seems to be called *Akū*, and *Aku* we know as a name of the moon-god $\bar{A}$, in the case of the King's name, *Eriaku*.

The last groups, reading, *En Ani gumeska kyka*. 'A prayer of words for $\bar{A}$ (exaltation ?),' seem to stand alone at the end of the text instead of the usual formula at the beginning, which is absent. I do not think there was ever any line before the first.

Translation is rendered difficult by the points thus enumerated, but the gist of the matter seems recoverable. Literally, we must, I think, read thus :

(1) God - water - my, horn ? - come - chief *

* 'The horned chief of water.' See *Babylonian Record*, February, 1887, where the god *Ea* is actually

water-of.* God Ea words for. Sceptre-holding-come † for tablet (*dib* ?) my (2) be for. (I him exaltation ?) cause be. Cause . . . offering water even offer. Holiest above-Holy Aku ('Water-King') (3) offering made. King (intensitive) (male ?) towards Power-ful towards call. King (intensitive) (male, male ?) light-Lord God Ea as God-like (word offer ?) . . . Prayer. Of Āa, words for (exaltation for ?).

No doubt improvements on this attempt are quite possible.

represented with horns; so is the god at Ibreez. The same group occurs on Hamath V. But *Shi* is doubtful.

* The group Ā ni may be compared with such expressions as *Dam-ki-na*, 'wife earth from' or 'of.' The Ni places the noun Ā in the genitive or ablative.

† The *Du*, 'come,' I think may be used in the sense of 'become,' which is, I believe, known in Akkadian (speaking under correction), so as to form a sort of appellation 'sceptre-holding become' = *Pa-sha*, as the object of the next group; or perhaps 'for sceptre-holding become,' *i.e.*, 'in his honour.'

FREE RENDERING.

I* call on the God $\bar{A}$ the horned (or stately) Lord of Water, Ea. In his honour (I) make the monument (or tablet?)† I (exalt?) him. I cause a libation to be offered. To the Holiest of Holy Aku an offering made.‡ I cry to the (strong?) King the powerful. I . . . offer to the (strong?) king (strong?) lord of light to Ea as God. A prayer. Words for the (exaltation of $\bar{A}a$).

This is substantially the rendering already published in the *Times*, save that it is better probably to render $\bar{A}$ as the name of the well-known god, and not as 'water' or 'rain.'

* The personal pronoun may perhaps be considered as understood, or the whole may perhaps read as impersonal.

† This of course is rendered doubtful by the half-obliterated word, which seems perhaps to represent a tablet. It may be the usual form for a 'monument' or 'memorial.' Only a study of the original stone can cast further light on this symbol.

‡ *Mu-ni* being read as the past participle, *Mun* or *Van*.

VI.—HAMATH STONE No. 5.

This is the longest of the Hamath texts. It is also the worst preserved, judging from the cast (see Wright, Plate IV. and p. 141). It is on the other face of the same stone with the preceding text. The stone was a corner-stone in some monument or building, and the inscriptions were no doubt a charm to sanctify the building. Dr. Wright says that some of the characters have been effaced. The published copy is the best that the cast allows, but I think it is not always quite right. Thus, line 2 ends, I think, with *Ke*. Line 3 ends, I think, with *Ni*. Line 4 begins *Ka*. There are also, unfortunately, several emblems of so unusual and unsuggestive a character that I have not been able to suggest any meaning for them. Lines No. 3 and 4 both read from the right, which is unusual.

HAMATH STONE No. 5.

[illegible]

This is quite one of the most difficult to make anything of, and I can only profess to read a little here and there, not on account of any failure in the system, but on account of the condition of the text and cast.* The commencement (which would hardly be seen from the published copy) is just the same as that of the first, second and third texts from Hamath. Literally :

1. Prayers. Holy one-above sword-with head-cut-ing powerful for, as-sacrifice †-his. King-King . . . flame

2. . . Prayer (holy?) my to.‡ King . . my words . . say. God ¯§ to I cry . .

* My first rendering of this text was from the published copy. An inspection of the cast, however, shows me that we cannot make certain of a great many forms shown on the copy, and that translation must therefore depend on study of the original stone.

† The ram's head has here a block below, as if laid on an altar, and is therefore rendered sacrifice.

‡ Apparently *Ra*, the dative suffix.

§ This I took from the copy to be An and Anna, but the cast shows that the lower emblem is the ordinary water-pot.

growth protect spiritual with cause me for,
water of spiritual* with Anāmu (stone ?) of
erected my as.†

3. Of Set. Anāmu (horn ?)-come Lord ‡
as, word for I say. (King above ?)-for, pro-
tection my-for. Tree§-come-spirit-ual call,
cause me . . . word for . . . my, protect me
be . . call . . . of water An-(u ?) offer . . him.

4. for, cause . . . offering of water, as
become (exalt ?)-be offer. Tree||-sacred-my-
with . . . offering for . . my, protect me.
(Exalt ?) with (exalt ?) with . . . for . . ed.
Crescent Ya-ā become - with Holy above
with

5. tree holy . . . call.

* This 'spirit water' is discussed later ; it is apparently
the 'enchanted water of Ea' mentioned in Akkadian texts.

† The emblem of the two feet seems to mean 'stand,'
and is again connected with *Tak* on Jerabis iii. 3.

‡ This is the same group, *An ā mu Shi-du-Tar*, which
begins the preceding text, and is there connected
apparently with Ea, but here with Set.

§ This tree may be identified by comparing that more
perfectly defined on the second Jerabis text, line 2.
This I called 'the beneficent god of dawn' in the *Times*.

|| This is apparently the other tree—Tree of Shar-gal
—as identified also on Jerabis ii., line 2.

FREE RENDERING.

1. Prayers. As the sacrifice of the Holy one above (who has) the beheading sword, the powerful The most high

2. for . . my holy Prayer to my lord, words . . . said. To the God $\bar{A}$ (water) I cry to protect the spirit of my life with spiritual water. The (monument ?) of An- $\bar{a}$ -mu (which I erect for the deity ? = *Set*.)

3. The words for An- $\bar{a}$ -mu the (stately ?) Chief I say : for the (King above ?) for my protection. The word for the beneficent tree to make me For my (holy one ?)

4. . . . (The rest is too much broken to render.)

It is not possible, at all events for me, to do more to this text, and a consecutive reading is difficult with so many gaps. In line 1 we read as in line 1 of the preceding texts. In line 2 we have the gods *Set*, and $\bar{A}$ adored, and the living tree, or spirit tree, which has been discussed previously (see

p. 89). The sacred artificial tree is invoked in line 4,* and I think that the crescent with a bull's head and the name Yaā below is perhaps another deity.† Line 5 is much too incomplete to make anything of. The text, however, does not seem to suggest that any of the values given to the commoner symbols are incorrect. It will appear immediately that there is less difficulty when we have the original stone to consult, than when we attempt to read from a cast.

* The group *Shar-du* is provisional. There are two balls, one each side of the stem. The group appears to be followed by *Zo*, 'spirit.' In this case it means 'Tree come spirit' or 'Tree of Life.' It must then be compared with the name of the Akkadian god, *Nin-iz-zida*, 'Lord tree life at,' whom Lenormant calls 'Lord of the beneficent tree.'

† I do not think this crescent and bull's head is quite right in the published copy. The cast shows the crescent more complete.

VII.—THE ALEPPO TEXT.

This is far too much defaced to be read (see Wright, Plates V., VI., VII., p. 142). This stone also was locally regarded, like the third Hamath stone, as a talisman, and as capable of curing ophthalmia, so that the natives used to rub their eyes against it. No doubt this was a survival of an old tradition, the stone being really intended originally as a talisman; and it is an instance of the importance of collecting peasant superstitions. By comparing the drawings we see that the names AN- $\bar{A}$ and AN- $\bar{E}$ occur in the first line, followed by LO-KU, and, according to Mr. Boscawen, by KU- $\bar{A}$. In the second line we have PAK at the end. I think this line reads from the left, the upper one from the right. It is apparently an invocation of $\bar{A}k\bar{u}$, the god of the moon and of water, and of Ea, the god of sky and ocean.

VIII.—JERABIS TEXT No. 1.

See Wright, Plate VIII., and p. 144. This is a text written round four sides of a door-jamb. The photograph consequently does not give the proper sequence. The text is broken on the left, but probably not much is lost. There is a plain band on the second and third faces at the re-entering angle, but no break in the sentences.

The text includes several new emblems not found at Hamath. The forms are very distinct, and so little conventionalized, that I think this must be a very old example. A few notes are necessary before endeavouring to translate.

The inscription appears to be an invocation of the three gods, Sun, Water, and Fire, who, as already explained, formed the principal triad of the Akkadians.

Line 1 begins, like the Hamath stones and

the known Akkadian texts, with *En*, 'prayer.' The last emblem marked ? on face A may be *Tak*, 'the menhir,' or lingam, belonging to Set. The next emblem, now partly erased, may have been the name Set, so that A and B faces would read, 'Prayers of the Stone of Set.' On face D the first emblem is rather doubtful; but a study of the stone seems to show that it is *Ka*. The upper emblem after *Ku* may be the one which I have called *Tak*; but this is very doubtful. It is not the same as that attached to the name of Set.

Line 2. Here a gap occurs, as the line reads from the left, and is broken; at least two groups are lost, and there is an unusual emblem here. Under the first *E* is a curious emblem like a whip. I conjecture that it may be a form of the word *Re*, to 'flow,' which occurs at Ibreez, and represents a stream of water; but this is very doubtful. The *Ka* after *De* is not the usual form, as the base is on one side. On face B, we find for the first time a group also found below, and

on the third Jerabis stone. Professor Sayce has already noticed it as giving the value 'supreme' to the upper emblem, which I call *Pak* — a reading which is confirmed by various coincident circumstances. I have called the King's head *Ku* provisionally; but it may perhaps be *Mul*, or *Sar*. The sense evidently is 'above King.' The extended hand is evidently a right hand, and seems here to form a verbal root. Its sound might be *su*. I think its meaning is possibly 'right'—that is, auspicious or southern, as contrasted with 'left,' evil or northern—an idea well known in Semitic languages, and connected with the words 'front' for east, and 'back' for west. The origin of the idea (proper to the northern hemisphere only) is that the midday is the south, and the north is the region of night, by which the sun returns east. It is a general idea among Asiatics that the north is the region of night and of demons, perhaps showing a race which came from the

‘land of darkness’ where the nights in winter were very long. This is the simple and evident reason why a worshipper facing the rising sun regarded the right hand as propitious.

Line 3. The emblem here called *Tak* is that which I believe to mean ‘memorial,’ as explained before (p. 109); it is not the emblem *Tak* for a menhir. The phonetic value may require alteration. The particle *Ra* prefixed belongs, I think, to the previous group as a suffix. It is both the verbal infix which gives what Lenormant calls a ‘co-operative meaning,’ and is also the dative ‘to.’ The hand raised above the symbol $\bar{a}$ is a doubtful emblem. It may, I suppose, mean accept. The *Ne* at the end of face B is in the same attitude as in the first word *En*. I conjecture that with the affix *Ka* and the possible though half-obliterated *Ra*, it means ‘supplication to.’ On the face D we find, for the first time, a sheep’s head, which is to be read, perhaps, *lu*, apparently an appella-

tion ; it is not certain that the next head is also *Lu*. The ears are not the same, and I am not sure that there is not a protruding tongue, as on the second Jerabis stone. The *Ni?* on this face is the hand in attitude of protection.

Line 4. The hand in the attitude of superposition, which occurs twice in this line, I think may mean 'give.' I call it provisionally *Sz*. It occurs with the cross, which means, I think, 'benediction.' Compare the second Jerabis stone.

The symbol *Vo* in this line we have, I think, not found previously. It is like *Vo* in Cypriote, and represents possibly *Vo* or *Um* for 'may' as a prefix. In this line we have also the emblem which might be a footprint—to be rendered *Gar*, 'put' or 'make.' The *Tak* before Set is not certain, as it has no base. It might be *Ke*, which seems otherwise unknown on this text.

Line 5. On face B there is an emblem called *De?* It is not quite like the preceding

emblems so called, and has, perhaps, a different meaning. On face D the emblem after $\bar{E}e$ (or Ea) is, perhaps, the sacred artificial tree, so important a feature in Akkadian mythology. It might, however, be Pa , for 'sceptre.' Professor Sayce suggested the former meaning.

On the whole, this is the most distinct and best-preserved text we at present possess in the Altaic hieroglyphs. A verbatim translation seems, from the preceding considerations, to be as follows :

1. Prayers-his (stone Set ?)-him-to for Fire flames-growth-for-to-ing. King King . . . ing. God (Ane) become words to strong. . . .

2. . . . to . . . (flow ?) Tamzu-Aa to. Fire-flames-grow-for-ing King over king descend-ing right (or propitious) become Thee mighty* Set strength (*ra-mes-ti-ra*)† . .

* This closed fist no doubt means 'strong,' and reminds me of a common gesture of the Syrian peasantry, who, when they admire a man for strong action, close the fist and shake it, saying, '*Kawi! Kawi!*' that is to say, 'Strong, strong.'

† *Ra-Mes-ti*, a grammatical form, cf. *Mes-ke* in next inscription.

3. (the memorial to?). Thee . . . water-
ing Set Bull-water-of-to prayer-memorial for
thee for, thou (accept ?) stone (of) Set sheep-
water-of-to . . . protect to Thou . . . me-
ing become for . . .

4. . . . gives thee to, thee for . . to me.
Thou (may ?) I grow give to ; strong (may ?)
I grow give to Thou blessing put me, at the
stone (of) Set to. Tamzu Water (protec-
tion ?) Thou Fire.

5. flames grow-for (?) ; King protection
over King descend protect. Thou . . . Thou
spirit life of my become $\bar{A}$. . to, sceptre
holding become stone (of) Ea Thou (sceptre?)
stone (of) Set

There are, of course, several obscure pas-
sages in this rendering, especially because the
sheep's head and some of the positions of the
raised hands and arms are difficult. The
grammar is, however, apparently sound, ac-
cording to rules laid down previously ; and
however curious it may appear in English
words, it is the grammar of the Altaic
tongues. The general result seems to be :

FREE RENDERING.

1. Prayers of the Monument of Set.
Powerful words for the living fire, the Most
high . . . the divine . . .

2. . . . to . . . (pour ?) Tammuz, $\bar{A}a$,
living fire* Most High descending (propiti-
tious ?) Thee strong Set . . .

3. the memorial (is) for. Thee . . . Set
great one of the water the prayer of the
memorial (is) for (Accept thou ?). The
monument of Set Thou
.

4. Grant me to live grant me to
grow strong Give thou me a blessing at the
Monument of Set. Tammuz, $\bar{A}$. ., living
fire.

5. (great protector ?) King above descend
to protect. Thou . . Thou spirit of my life

* Tamzu, both in line 2 and line 4, is connected with water and fire, or with rain and heat. So also on the Babylonian bowl the same connected expressions occur. So also in the Zendavesta—water, fire, and the sun are the chief objects of worship. We have here, indeed, the origin of the so-called ‘fire-worship’ of the Akkadians and Medes, and of their ‘water-worship,’ too.

. . . . the monument in honour of Ea . . .
the monument of Set. . .

This seems to be, therefore, an invocation to the three chief gods (sun, water, fire) to come and abide at or dwell in the monument (*Tak*) to which the text belonged—probably in a temple. This is a very common idea, not only in the Akkadian mythology, but also in the Phœnician, since as Sanchoniathon tells us, the gods were supposed to inhabit stones. It is common to all menhir-erecting people who supposed their sacred stones to be haunted by, or even inhabited by, the gods, and who therefore poured libations on them, or placed offerings before them. (See ‘Heth and Moab,’ Chapter VII., etc.) I do not, however, venture to suppose that this rendering is incapable of improvement, by those who are familiar with the Akkadian grammatical forms.

IX.—JERABIS No. 2.

In this case we have a figure of a king or of a deity, with the text on either side. The figure has suffered much. So has the text to the left of the figure; to the right it is perfect, and so clear that there can be no hesitation as to any figure, although some emblems I do not understand. (See Wright, Plate IX. and p. 145.)

The understanding depends very much on the meaning of the emblem called *Bat*. It seems to me clearly to represent a hand with a knife, and I have compared the Cuneiform emblem, *Bat* (Plate IV.), which may be derived from our hieroglyphic. The text, then, would seem to refer to slaying something, and I think the something seems to be a species of demon. A few words of explanation are required.

Line 1. The first emblem Professor Sayce

←	Two faces opposed	AN TAM ZU					1	
→	NI MES TAR? KE DU	BAT DU						
←	. . .	. . .					3	
→	. . .	. . .					4	
←	. . .	. . .					5	
→	MES TI	ZU ZU TAK	NI SI				6	
←	Hand (?) (?)	NI (?)					7	
→			NI Beast BAT	IL BAT DU	MES KE			8

believes to stand in place of the usual emblem, *En*, for prayer, which seems to agree with what we have already determined. The second emblem looks like one of the oil-vases used in the East. It might be compared with the Cypriote *Pe*. I can only conjecture the meaning. The word *Tar* does not clearly show on the published copy, but there is, I think, no doubt that it is a goat, or ibex, like that of the bilingual boss: the eye and the beard are very distinct on the original monument. The sheep's head, with the emblem of country below, is clear; I propose to read it phonetically *lu ma*, and to compare with the well-known Akkadian word *lama*, meaning 'giant,' or 'hero,' but this is only a conjecture.

The two opposed faces, with hands crossed, have been supposed by Professor Sayce to mean 'treaty;' but the usual emblem of treaty in antiquity consists of two hands joined, the old practice being to swear with joined hands. The *ideographic* idea seems

to me rather to be that of 'double,' or 'likeness,' somewhat like the Egyptian idea of the *Ka*.

Line 2. The group *Mes ke* is peculiar to this text. In line 4 it stands in an evidently affixed position, with the verb to slay preceding. Hence I suggest that it is probably a gerund form like *Ra-mes-ka* in Akkadian.

As to the sacred trees in this line, enough has already been said. (See back, p. 89.)

Line 3. The hand here shown is the left hand. The emblem following is perhaps the altar of the Hamath stones; but if so, there is no flame above it. The meaning seems to me doubtful, since the verb should follow, not precede the noun.

Line 4. The animal's head here has a tongue protruding, which must show some canine animal—a wolf, or dog—hence to be read *Lig*. The emblem below may be a paw perhaps, and mean 'claws,' such as demons are shown with on Assyrian sculptures, like the Aramaic plaque of M. Peretié.

Line 5. There are three strokes over the head of *Set*, perhaps meaning 'triple;' it is not the usual plural sign. *Set* seems to me to be used generally to mean 'Deity.' I suppose the triple deity is the triad of sun, water, fire, often mentioned.

Line 6. The expression *zu-zu* I thought might mean 'you;' the word below is a monument like the Phœnician cippi. The hand in attitude of 'giving' follows; the sense is interrupted by the destruction of the line above. The ram's head occurs here, and in the next line. I have shown already (p. 93) that the ram's head is the word for 'fight' on the Cappadocian cylinder, where the demons are shown fighting, with the word above. The emblem *Ti* in this line is not the usual shape.

Line 7. The emblem called *Me* is like that well known from the Hamath stones, but of this I do not feel quite certain. It seems rather to mean 'take.'

Line 8. Here we have another animal's

head—perhaps a hyena, or a bear (*Sakh* in Akkadian); this also may be, perhaps, a demon, or an appellation ‘bear-like.’

We are now prepared to read the text to the right, and the remains of that to the left. It seems to run in a series of short separate clauses :

1. Prayer . . . Fire flames Chief King.
(Hero ?) . . . god - Tamzu likeness (or double ?).

2. slay - come. *Lilshar* - both
Anshar both head become above-four adore.

3. God Tamzu (give ?) offering (sacrifice ?)
.

4. . . . slay become-to-be* Wolf (claw ?)
spirit triple slay.

5. Likeness of triple Set† (bless ?). . . .

6. many. Thee thee monument gives
adore-to-become blessing become. Spirit
triple slay Sun warrior of.

* *Mes-ke*, gerund, ‘meet to be.’

† The emblem here is found with the head of Set on an inscription with a winged figure (Wright, Plate XI., Figs. 3 and 4); it has no doubt some auspicious meaning.

7. Sword - take opposing death become with.*

8. . . . (some wild beast) slay meet dead to be.

(Taking the final *Meske* as the gerund.)

Now, although I consider this to be subject to a proper verification by a specialist in Akkadian, it seems to me that there is much which is fairly certain. It seems clear that the names of a deity followed by heads of wild animals, and by pictures of slaying, must give the general sense, and the ram's head we have independently connected with the idea of contention.

FREE RENDERING.

A prayer . . . to the Chief Lord of Fire, (the hero ?) . . . the god Tammuz's portrait, which slays the to the two sacred trees (the four† chiefs above ?) adora-

* *Ke-ti* read *Kit* = 'with' or 'of.'

† The four would be Fire, Sun, and the trees just enumerated. The symbol is not *Mes*.

tion. Give sacrifice (or an altar) to the god Tammuz (?) (or perhaps, god Tammuz accept sacrifice) . . . slay. Triple spirit the wolf (paw?) slay. Likeness of the triple Set (bless?) many. To you the monument gives adoration and benediction. Triple spirit of death. Sun warrior take the sword of battle for slaughter. . . . slay meet to be slain.

This constant war waged by the sun-god against demons, is not only a very familiar feature of Akkadian and Assyrian phraseology, and often represented in sculptured bas-reliefs and on gems, but it also forms a very important part of the religion of the Zendavesta, which, as before said, was founded on the old Median dualism, the belief being in the power of the sun to drive away the evil things of darkness.

X.—JERABIS No. 3.

This is a highly interesting and instructive text, which serves, I think, to strengthen our position (see Wright, Plate X., p. 145). It is remarkable as being written on a curved surface. Why the Hittites could not write only on good flat surfaces I do not know. They seem often to have preferred the back of a lion or a pillar-shaft to a tablet, and the custom survived in Assyria, where the legs and body of a lion, or the skirts of a king, were covered with arrow-headed symbols. The stone is a gray basalt; the text is more worn than the two preceding. The stone is $5\frac{1}{2}$ feet high, $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet broad, and the arc of the curve is $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet. On the flat side is a figure in a niche, holding a sceptre and a sword, and with a striped robe (or perhaps a hair robe, such as we know to have been worn by the gods); probably the text con-

JERABIS No. 3.

←	 DU E ? Ē LI TAM NI ME ...	1
→	 ? MES NI ZU LU SAK SAK DU † BIL MES A ? TE? NI TE? KE KE IL Ā TAK? : MU MAS ? Arm MU GI TAR KU? ? ME TE? ? ? TI MUBAT NI ? MU : IL GUT KA NI?	2
←	 RA? YA EN III TI Life KU ZU KE KE Feet? LU PA ? ZO GI PAK MES BIL KA? : IL? TE SET TE NE TI MU NI IT NI MU TI MU TI TAK? KA LI LI LI LU KU TI TE? GI ZU : DU AS?	3
→	 MES ? GAR? GUT KA Ā AN IT GI TAK ? TAK DE E Ā Run IT SAK NI ? TAK? IT : LI NI E LU DU DU NI ZO LI DU SI DU NINE KE DU E (?) ME? LI LU? : 4	4
←	 ? NI UL? ZU? GA AN SET ? × NI Ā ZU DU IT ? ZU? ? KE KE : AS LI MAS MAS MU? TAR Ē SET DU MAS DU ? KA LI SET NE TAK Ā DU TI E?? : MU ? AS ? ZU TAM LI Ā NI	5

secretes the statue. We may compare the boundary-stones inscribed in Cuneiform with strange astronomical figures, and texts at the back. Unfortunately the top line is broken, and the head of the figure consequently lost; it should be sought at the spot where George Smith found the stone. The stone is also broken away at either end.

A few words of commentary on the published copy are required before attempting to translate.

Line 1. The triangle after *E* is a unique emblem. It is something like a form of Cypriote *O* given by Professor Sayce; but the latter may be an imperfect example of the common form of *O*, which cannot be connected. It is also like *Ya* laid on one side, and like the Cypriote *I*.

Line 2. We have here the first *Mas*—a head with long ears and tongue protruding, which I take to mean demon. The protruding tongue recalls the figure of Vishnu as the lion, and the Bes of Egypt and of Phœ-

nicia.* I believe it to be intended to show a cruel deity—Moloch or Mulge has such an appearance—perhaps connected with the supposed wolf-head on the preceding text. The ram's-head, already shown to refer to fighting, follows immediately; and although the sounds *Mas* and *Lu* are purely provisional, we can, I think, have little doubt as to the ideographic meaning. The vase under the head which follows seems to be the same which stands as the second symbol on the preceding text. It is not impossible, perhaps, that this group reads *Sag-pa*, 'charm,' or 'talisman;' but this is a conjecture, which may be disproved in spite of the form of Cypriote *Pi*, already noticed.

The emblem called *Il* is like the Cuneiform *Al* and like the Cypriote *Li*; it is supposed to be a prefix to the word *bat*. The *Tak* is that form of cippus which I have supposed to mean 'memorial.'

Line 3. This is all very clearly preserved,

* There are bronze heads of demons with protruding tongues, well known to Assyriologists.

with a few exceptions. After *Zo-li*, we have a sort of tiara, which also occurs in line 5. Perhaps *Nim*, 'high,' may be equivalent. The pair of feet perhaps means 'stand.' The emblem of 'life' has been already noticed (p. 108). The emblem after *En* is one which I have supposed to mean 'adoration,' *Te*. At the very end, *Il-Il* is not certain. On the stone these look like feet in the direction opposite to that called *Du* provisionally, but they may be worn away.

Line 4. The winged walking-stick before the first *Mas*, I conjecture to be a winged snake, as a study of the stone seems to show a snake's-head. It recurs on line 5. On the Marash lion we have what looks very much like a serpent standing erect. The erect serpent is known on a Babylonian cylinder by the tree of life. The figures at Carchemish often have small wings. In one of the Akkadian magic texts we find a god invoked to 'cut the wings' of the demon (W. A. I., iv. 16, 1), as Istar cut

the wings of the *Alal* in the forest.* The tablet in question is one of great importance to our present text, as there are two clauses in that text which seem to be similar to clauses in the hieroglyphic text from Jerabis under consideration. It is very remarkable that the Cuneiform parallel speaks of the demon as defeated by a 'pillar,' on which the talisman was apparently written. Our present text is written on a sort of pillar.'

A little farther on, in line 4, we come to a group *E ā-ni—pair of legs running—ne-ke-it face (or soul) du*, which would give: 'And water of running-as at soul become.' Perhaps the explanation may lie in the very expression in the Cuneiform text above noticed (see 'La Magie,' p. 43): 'Like water may it make him run.'

Just before the sentence thus illustrated

* We also read of the demons (W. A. I., iv. 1, 1), 'they glide in at the doors like serpents.'

the published copy shows a group which, looking at the stone, I think should really have a bull's head in the middle. The stone is much worn. If I am right it would read *De-gut-du* (compare *du-gud-da*, 'powerful').

Line 5. There is a doubtful passage in this line. The published copy shows a demon's head about the middle, but the stone is much worn. After it comes a very interesting group, namely, the usual house for *E*, or *Ea*, and above it a saltire marked as X. It seemed to me to mean a 'barrier ;'* and on referring to the Akkadian text (W. A. I., iv. 16, 1) as translated by Lenormant ('Magie,' p. 42), I find the words : 'He who raises his head against the blessed waters of *Ea*, may the barrier of *Ea* stay him.' This gives us, perhaps, some idea of the meaning of the group and of the clause. I think the group which is obliterated may be a foot, with the ordinary

* There is a Cypriote form just like it, which is read, I believe, *i* or *u*.

water-pot above and below, as in the published copy.

After *Tam-zu* in this line comes a symbol which we may suppose to be *ga*, 'belonging to.' Then come two demons' heads, looking towards each other. This group, which has never been found elsewhere, I think, helps our argument. As already noticed, we have on the plaque of M. Peretié, from Palmyra, and on the Cappadocian cylinder, pictures of demons standing (as beasts) erect, and clawing one another. The expression is explained by various Akkadian charms translated from the Cuneiform, viz. :

'May the evil demons go forth; may they seize each other' (W. A. I., Plates 17, 18, vol. ii.; 'Magie,' p. 10).

'Holding one another embraced, may they be driven together to the deserts' (W. A. I., iv. 16, 1).

The soul is represented on the Palmyra plaque walking away safe, while the demons are fighting.

It seems possible that the two demons facing each other have the same ideographic value. This (with exception of the emblem which I have suggested to mean 'portrait') is the only case where a face occurs with its front away from the beginning of the line. The emblem between them seems to me, from the stone, to be *Zu*, 'thou;' the one below is perhaps a tiara, and the group means, possibly, 'King of opposing demons.' After it comes the unusual emblem of the 'bundle,' which I have supposed to mean 'bind.' The next group stands *Ni-As-bat* on the copy, but I think it is certainly *Ni As me*—the hand found so often on the Hamath stones.

The preceding commentary allows of our now attempting a rough translation of the greater portion.

Line 1. . . . Tamzu . . ing Ea . . . and . . come.

Line 2. . . . many my strong. Thee demon warrior-from (talisman?) soul protec-

tion* come bless me. Fire flames lord
(Water. King ?) . . . adoration be adore †
King . . . cause to me slain.

Line 3. . . . Tamzu for, Fire flames grow-
to (or for).‡ King over King flame warrior
spiritual (exalted ?) ruling (the sceptre and
affix, *Pa-li*) warrior for memorial stand to
me cause to me thee bind.§ King at life of
to me . . to. Prayer (intensitive) *Ya* adora-
tion to Set adoration

Line 4. . . ing many protect (flying ser-
pent ?) Demon make fight spirit strong
become for become water him. God spirit
at-flame-ing memorial become . . stone give

* I conjecture the arm here in a peculiar attitude to mean 'protect,' and so when repeated; but this is of course as yet unproved.

† This part seems very doubtful.

‡ The form is not the usual one of *De*, but the group no doubt has the same meaning, the emblem being only sculptured rather larger and more elaborately than usual. On Jerabis I. we have found the group twice with *Ka* instead of *Ti*, and it is not certain that in the present case also the emblem may not be *Ka*.

§ Here and in line 5 we have the emblem for 'spell' as before, pp. 169, 171.

power and water of running as at soul become.

Line 5. . . flying serpent cause become
(*ti keke du*) spirit water of for monument.
Thee Demon (intensitive) . . Set . . .
expels* Thee demon water become water of
Set barrier of Ea . . Set my lord-ly Tammuz
belonging to thee opposing demon (chief?)
. . charm to charm be . . .†

Here, then, we have, I believe, a long text showing us that the Hittite religion was just the same as that of the Akkadians, consisting in a belief that the demons of darkness were to be defeated by aid of the gods Tammuz and Ea. A free rendering is difficult, because there are gaps at the end of the lines; but it would perhaps be somewhat as follows, although I can only roughly determine the

* This form *du du*, is rendered 'faire sortir' by Lenormant.

† Two small circles occur here, as also at the end of Hamath No. 5, just before the last *gu*. The circle may perhaps stand for *Mar*, but it also recalls the old Cuneiform emblem for heart.

general sense, which no doubt requires thorough treatment by competent special scholarship. We must remember that we are dealing with an agglutinative language, and a very rude hieroglyphic system.

FREE RENDERING.

2. . . from the demon warrior the (talisman ?) protecting my soul becomes a blessing, the Fire Lord, the Water, the King . . . slays for me

3. . . Tamzu the living fire the King of Kings spiritual . . royal warrior the memorial (erected by me ?) causes me to enchant thee. (King of my life . . . ?) The prayer . . adoring, Set adoring . . become.

4. . . protects The (snake ?) demon to make fight; the wild bull spirit to become weak,* the memorial . . stone of the Divine spirit of flame grants strength,† and as the

* The bull here is not like the usual type, but more like the *Am* or 'wild bull.'

† *De-gut-du* I suppose to be equivalent to *du-gud-da*, rendered 'puissant' by Lenormant. ('Trans. Bib. Arch. Soc.,' vol. vi., p. 177.)

running of water (may) his soul become.

.

5. . . (the snake ?) causing to become, the monument of the spirit of the water. Thee demon . . Set . . . expels Thee demon the water become water of Set the barrier of Ea belonging to . . my lordly Set to Tammuz, Thee . . opposing demon . . . the spell binds.

By the holy water, which seems to me to be here mentioned, I understand the 'magic water of Ea,' mentioned in Akkadian texts, known from Cuneiform.

Rough as is this rendering, I hope that the general sense will be found to be correctly determined.

XI.—THE IBREEZ TEXT.

The other small fragments from Jerabis cannot give any particularly useful results,* and we pass on to the sculpture at Ibreez, representing a king adoring a gigantic deity with horns, having grapes in the right hand and corn in the left. Behind the king's or priest's head is a short text, very valuable as a check on our previous results. (Wright, Plate XIV. and p. 148.) The figure of the god is some 20 feet high. I doubt whether this can be a purely Hittite or Akkadian

* As to the Karabel and Niobe texts, I do not feel any certainty. The former seems to read, *It Dib* . . . *Zu An* . . . 'a tablet . . . Spirit of Heaven . . .' On the Niobe we have perhaps *Ku* . . . *gut du*, 'King . . . strong become.' Dr. Gollob's additional marks I do not understand. We seem to have *Zo*, 'spirit,' and the character which I have suggested is like the Cypriote *lo*, 'male' or 'man;' but these might perhaps be Greek letterings added, as is the cartouche of Rameses II., or as the Greeks wrote their names on Egyptian statues.

sculpture. The god and the priest have beards, after the Phœnician or Greek fashion. Mr. Davis has remarked the similarity to Assyrian sculpture. The shoes are those of the modern Turkish or Syrian peasantry, which struck the Egyptians as differing from their own, and which are given to the Hittites on the Karnak pictures. The noses are aquiline. The head-dresses are not those of the gods at Boghaz Keui. There is a third inscription below the bas-relief close to the water, which flows under the red limestone-cliff, where the sculpture has been executed.

TEXT BEHIND THE KING.

The forms seem clear, all but two emblems.

← KA ? DU NI	He come . . . for.
→ NI RE Ā	Flow water.
← Ā KU ^{GAR} _{LI} NI	Making King of water.
→ ? TAK KA	. . . monument towards.

Thus the meaning seems to be, 'This person comes . . . towards the monument of him who makes the stream flow the King of the water.' The short text thus seems to apply to the figure in front of it, and to the actual position of the monument beside a stream.

TEXT OVER THE GOD'S HEAD.

	AN GA? IT?	* . . . An-ū to . . .
	KA? NI U? KA KA	
→	TI LI LI	
	ME NI NI NI	Him water make living him
←	DU Ē DE Ā	house raise become.
	TE? LI GAR	
	LI AN? RA? E	ing God Set to house
→	SET GA?	belonging to.

This appears, I think, to include honorific titles to the god, but the letters are so crowded and indistinct that I can only roughly conjecture the general meaning. It appears that we have the god called the

* The first emblem is perhaps *Ka*. *Ka-ni* would read *Kan*, which might be compared with *gan*, 'this,' only the latter word is not a prefix. *Gan*, prefixed = 'may.'

‘God of the Serpent,’ which, as we have seen, was a title of Ea.

The general result seems to be ‘. . . to the sky-god him of the living water, him the temple* raised to, the temple belonging to the god Set.’

As the statue occurs by a stream, it is evidently natural that it should represent Ea, the god of all water and moisture, who made both corn and wine flourish by giving rain and dew. The horned head-dress also agrees with this, since, as before shown, Ea is represented with horns.

The third text is too imperfectly preserved—or too imperfectly copied—to be read. I think we may read the words *Bil-ga*, ‘fire,’ and *A-ga*, ‘water,’ and perhaps recognise the serpent.

The characters seem to me to be more conventionalized than those of Hamath and

* The emblem rendered ‘temple’ is not the form otherwise occurring as the name of Ea. It has a cella.

Jerabis, and this, in conjunction with the Semitic features and beards of the figures, makes me suppose this sculpture to be comparatively late.

XII.—THE TYANA TEXT.

See Wright, Plate XV. and p. 154. This is an incised text. I do not propose to attempt to read it, as the copy is very indefinite. It is in four lines. The usual groups, *Ku-ku* and *Au-Tam-zu*, occur ; also

Thou Ea,' and the sky-god with *Ri*, 'light,' and the ordinary suffixes. The symbol *Zu*, 'thou,' occurs very frequently, showing an invocation to the usual gods.

XIII.—MARASH TEXT.

This is given by Perrot ('Hist. de l'Art,' vol. iv., p. 556). It is over the heads of two deities, one with a sceptre, one with a cup, seated either side of a table or altar. The drawing of the symbols is much too indefinite to be read—it is due to M. Puchstein. The sculpture was found, I believe, by Dr. Gwyther. A cast is said to exist at Berlin.

XIV.—AINTAB.

West of this place Dr. Trowbridge, of the American Mission, has photographed quite lately* a sculpture of a lion-headed god slaying some animal. In the corner is an emblem, either the head of an ass, or more probably of a hare, and the same in the other corner reversed. See what is said of the hare-god, p. 90.

* A copy has kindly been sent to me by Mrs. Barnes, and another offered to me by Dr. Macaulay, both, I believe, through the kind permission of Dr. Trowbridge.

XV.—THE SEALS.

On these, as on the Phœnician and Assyrian seals, we may expect also the names of the gods (see Wright, Plates XIII. and XVI., p. 155). Sir H. Layard found eight seals in the chamber of the Palace of Sennacherib at Kouyunjik. The clay seals belonging to M. Schlumberger were published by M. Perrot in 1882. The seals from Kouyunjik should, I presume, be read reversed. According to the copy they read (Figs. 5, 6, 7, 8) *Āga Ē-u?*; but Perrot gives a picture of one which makes the first emblem a ship with a rudder at the helm ('Hist. de l'Art,' vol. iv., p. 567). In this case we might read, 'sky ship of Ea.'* This great ship of Ea was a very important feature of Akkadian religion. It occurs on cylinders,

* The ship would read *Ma*.

and it is mentioned in Akkadian tablets. In this ship the sun passed over the ocean and so safely returned to the east (see 'Magie,' p. 150).

Mr. Rylands has published another seal (Wright, Plate XX., Fig. 4), on which we read *An-Tam-Zu*. The celebrated Eagle has become sadly like a stuffed parrot, but Mr. Rylands recognised it.

The clay seals (Plate XVI.) are perhaps more difficult to understand. On the largest we have the serpent with *An* above, the moon, the star, the word '*mes*' and something else. Perhaps 'The god of sky: the moon and stars.' On another (Fig. 16) we have a dog or lion, a star, a foot, and *Pak*. I should propose to read *An-pak-du-lig*, 'the god lion above.' On another seal (No. 15) a god stands on a dog or lion, as also at Boghaz Keui. On another seal (Fig. 12) we have *Ku-ma-mes* and the Serpent of Ea, 'King of Countries'—a frequent divine appellation. Fig. 14 gives the sign *Dim*, and the em-

blems of 'blessing' and of 'majesty.' Fig. 13 (upside down) is the cross with *ta*, 'power.' No. 1 has the gryphon or cherub. On No. 7 we have *Ku Ku* . . and a figure adoring the sacred tree, *i.e.* 'King King . . .' On No. 11 we have *Pak-du-lig* (as on No. 16). The seal copied from Lajarde is very interesting (Fig. last). The reverse is the Assyrian Pegasus, which the Phœnicians adopted: the obverse is the winged sun, and the legend *An-Tam-Zu*,* and *An-Shar*.

* The word for 'spirit' in Akkadian is *Zi*, which should perhaps be the sound, and not *Zu*, as given in this memoir. The *Dû-zu* of Assyrian texts is, however, clearly derived from *Dû-zi*, which with *Tam-zi* is the Akkadian name of the sun. The emblem *Zo* for 'spirit' is also perhaps properly *Zi*. The Cypriote *Zo* and *Ze* are alike.

XVI.—THE BABYLONIAN BOWL.

The bowl is 13 inches in diameter ; $8\frac{3}{4}$ inches high ; the basin only $4\frac{3}{4}$ inches deep ; the base $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches diameter ; $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches high. It is of basalt, and the text is incised (Wright, pp. 161 and 198, Plate XXV.). Professor Sayce remarks on the hieratic character of the lettering, and on the unique figure which represents the bowl itself with its inscription. He also recognised the fact that the text was a dedication to the gods.

This bowl should perhaps be compared with those found by Layard inscribed in Hebrew with names of angels and demons, although the latter are as late as the sixth century A.D. To me it seems clear that these bowls held the 'enchanted water,' or the 'beneficent water,' which being consecrated to Ea was the great resource against demons. It is to this practice of using holy water that we perhaps

owe the frequent occurrence of the emblem $\bar{A}$ on the monuments. This also agrees with the Hittite invocation of rivers, and of the water-god, and with the occurrence of our texts at Carchemish and Hamath and Ibreez, on the banks of rivers.

The water-worship of the Medes has the same origin, and the 'water of life' which restored Izdubar (or Gisdubar) from his sickness, and which revived Istar when she descended into the Hades of her cruel rival, the wife of Mul-ge, has a close connection.

So much for the use of the magic bowl. The next point is to find where the text begins, and which way it reads. It reads from right to left, as is usual in the first line of Hittite texts. It is in a single line. Taking the halves separately we should read, I think, from An-Tamzu. We have the usual group of 'Sun, Water, Fire,' at this point—the Akkadian triad.

KE	KE	DU	AN	GA?	RA	ZU	GI?	IT		ZU	?	AN	Ā	AN
	IT?		U?	Bowl	LI	ZU	SA	NE	TAK?	KA	MU	BIL	Ā	TAM
ME	KE?		SA		NI	DU		NI		LI		LI	ZU	← ⁴³

First half.

KE	KE	GI	TAM	MU	TAM?	Ā	?	DU		ZU	ZU	IT	ZU	NI
TI?	MES	?		?	NE	NI	?	GU		NI	PAK	KA	NI	AS
MU		LI?	RI	KA	NI		?	TAR?		TAR?	KU?	KE?	TAR?	
		MU		LI										

Second half.

Under the first $\bar{A}$ is a similar emblem, perhaps also $\bar{A}$. After *Bil* is an emblem apparently quite unique. The *Tak* is like that found (Jerabis No. 1) by the head of Set. The supposed emblem, *Gi*, is very like one of the 'flames' at Jerabis. The lituus over the bowl might be a form of *Ga*. The serpent has become flattened at the top, as at Tyana, etc. This is not his true shape, as we see at Hamath. The *As* is very doubtful.

In the second half the animal's head is indistinguishable, but the horn points back, not forward, as with the bull. The next, *Ke*, is doubtful. The *Ku* is, I think, tolerably certain, though conventionalized. Under *Du*, after *Gu*, is an emblem which may be the altar somewhat rudely sketched. The next, *Tam*, has no inner markings, and is therefore quite unusual. The central emblem between *Mu* and *Ka* is also peculiar. Between *Tam* and *Ri* is perhaps *Ke*.

These difficulties, whether due to the

original (which seems to have disappeared from England), or to the copy, which is no doubt careful, will render a complete reading difficult, but the general sense will, I believe, be found clear.

There does not seem any great difficulty in the fact that this bowl has been found in Babylon. It may have been brought there from Carchemish. On the other hand, it may have been made at Babylon.

I do not feel that my knowledge is sufficient to enable me to give a translation of this text, but I feel confident that it can be done by a competent scholar; and that the general sense is an invocation of the gods to enchant the water placed in the bowl. Many of the forms are so rudely sketched that considerable doubts must exist as to their meaning.

XVII.—THE LION OF MARASH.

The lion is now in the Constantinople Museum. The cast of the lion is in the British Museum. The lettering occurs on the front and on the left side. The lion was built into the corner of a wall. If the visitor looks beyond the cast he will see a large stone lion covered with Cuneiform texts, also made for a wall corner. The basalt lion of Marash is the smaller prototype of the larger Cuneiform animal.

I have spent two hours over the cast, and have before me the excellent plates in Dr. Wright's book (Plates XXVI. and XXVII.), but I do not feel competent to translate the inscription. The cast is not as sharp as the original probably is. The lines are very crowded, and there are a good many new emblems. A great deal of study will be necessary before the lion is well understood.

For these reasons I only point to the principal groups. On the shoulder is a figure in intaglio. I think it has the hand raised to the mouth, and is probably only a full-length *En*, commencing the text which follows on the flanks. The *Mes* then follows with another emblem after the *En* on line 1 on the back of the animal. Then comes a group the same as at Hamath (i. 3), which occurs also later in the same line. The following emblems seem also clear: *An du ke-li-ka . . . ni Tar Zu An Ane* ga ni ke tar Ku Ku du ke li . . ga . . . ke li. An du ke . . tar Pa. . . .*

This line reads towards the right, and ends on the back of the tail. The general sense is apparently much like other texts.

In the second line the emblems on the right are difficult to see, being apparently

* The *An* has here become lozenge-shaped, just as the sun-emblem became, but the central line distinguishes it as well as the border.

much defaced. After *ga . . ke ra* we find
Gut ni Set . . tar . . ā li . . ke ke
. . du ka . . tar . . ni ga e.

The third line begins well defined on the left hand :

Zu Zo ni ni li Zu Gut ni . . ni . . .

Then follows a series of groups unlike any usually found, and much crowded and conventionalized. The running hare is preceded by *Ke*, and followed by *li*; then *Zu . . mu . . An ni du*; then the erect serpent (which represents perhaps a demon) with *Ka*. Then *ā sak . . du*.

Three more lines follow, which run over and between the legs of the lion and over the tail, which is between the legs. The emblems are much crowded, and the casts in parts indistinct. The fourth line seems to begin on the right, as if in continuation of the last-mentioned line. We can read . . .
Ka mes Zu pa li mes ri Zu . an . .

li de ni du ga e Zu An (pal ?) . . vo ke Ku du . . Zu Ni Tar . . Zu (snake) ke mes ti Zu bat du . . An-e ke ka (altar).

The fifth line reads from the left, and has perhaps part of the last verb of the preceding line (*Ke ?*) *du*. Then comes *Zu ni* . . then apparently a large emblem, with a smaller one inside, as in the case of several Cuneiform signs, such as 'eat,' etc. There is not much that is distinct in this line, and the important signs are unusual. There is a well-marked altar near the end.

The last line also appears to me very doubtful in the cast.

The legend on the front of the lion runs round the left side of the front paw as well, and begins on the left shoulder. The first groups, including an altar, are somewhat indistinct ; but *Zu Id-du ri*, are clear on the front of the left paw. On the space between we have *Ri de ni*—altar—*e Zu ra ni Zu . . ni*. On the right paw, *zu Zo ke ri*, 'Thou bright spirit.'

The second line begins on the right paw, with the cross for 'blessing;' followed by *ni mu*, 'blessing it me.' Then the words *Zu Zo*, 'thou spirit.' Between the paws, *Pa ga . . . mu An (u ?) ā*, meaning 'sceptred . . my. God of the sky and water'; on the left paw, *Du re ke An ke ka(?) Pak du mu*, then the hare seated, or perhaps the Set gryphon;* anyhow, the name of a god. The whole line is therefore :

Blessing it me (following 'spirit of light'),
sceptred . . . God of rain come as a stream
(*reke*) God . . . become above me (Set?).

The words *An Tar du ke . . .* seem to finish this clause in the next line, making together 'Set God (as chief become ?)'.

Between the legs the chief emblem in the third line is said to be a horse's head. To me it looks more like a camel. It is anyhow unique on the known texts. It is preceded

* See remarks on p. 86.

by *Zu*, 'thou.' I cannot read anything particular here.

In the last line we can read, *Zu . . mesti zu bat du ti*, apparently, but this, like many other parts of the text, may be liable to correction of the signs indicated.

On the whole, I think the Lion inscription clearly belongs to the same class, with others more easily decipherable. The number of names of deity may be accounted for by a talisman, and I do not anticipate that it will be possible to get any geographical meaning out of the text, or to show that it is historical, since it has apparently neither names of places, countries, captives, nor numbers; but, on the contrary, signs of adoration and invocation.

Trusting, then, to the indulgence of the scholars who must finally decide on the work here presented to their notice, with all due diffidence and sense of imperfection, I take leave of the Altaic hieroglyphs.

NOTE.

I MAY perhaps with advantage give the previous renderings of one inscription by three different students, which show how little agreement exists.

‘Make songs, play ye my harmonies, that they may cause thee to cure. Thy fee is the gift of me, Sahi-dijah, from which come praises to his gods in Iban.’ (Hebrew.)

‘I am the great lord, the King of Hamath, the prince of the Bene Heth Adar Nahem, king of the kings of the Hittites, son of Saph Heth the king.’ (Hebrew.)

‘Says the prince Tuves . . . erses, the son of . . . king of the country of Ereku . . . the supreme king of countries . . . the king of the land of the Hittites, the powerful . . . ruler, the son of Sandu Setue the king.’ (Language not definitely fixed by the author.)

I do not think any inscription, save the celebrated Newton Stone, ever had so many renderings.

ADDITIONAL NOTE.

THE present volume is only a sketch of what, if I prove to be right, may become a really complete work. I may add a few notes, which occur to me in again looking through Dr. Wright's 'Empire of the Hittites;' M. Perrot's new volume ('Hist. de l'Art,' vol. iv.), and other works.

The Aleppo inscription, Dr. Wright tells us, is now destroyed.

The figure of Sutech on the silver tablet of the treaty between Kheta-Sar, and Rameses II., had on it a text, 'This is the image of the god Sutech, king of heaven, protecting this treaty.' Perhaps this title was in the words *An Set Pak-ku*, in Hittite. The Egyptians revered Hittite gods, for Istar and Set were both adored in the land of Khemi.

The Kaskaya, a Hittite tribe, were perhaps Kus-ak, like the Kausikàs of India. The Assyrian monuments speak of the Hittites as living west of

the Euphrates—hence, perhaps, called Katti, or ‘west’ people.

Pethor is perhaps *Pat-ur*, meaning a fortified town. Luz, the Hittite city under Hermon, was perhaps named from *Laz*, a well-known goddess of Babylonia, perhaps originally Akkadian.

In speaking of Egypt, I have not said anything of the sphynxes of Eyuk, the semi-Egyptian character of which has struck all writers. Eyuk is not so very far from that Colchian colony which Herodotus believed to be Egyptian. The sphynx was, however, not peculiar to Egypt. We have an Akkadian cylinder from Kurium, with sphynxes on it, and there are a good many similar emblems on other seals. The Phœnicians also had sphynxes, but the rude figures at Eyuk may be prototypes of the more artistic Egyptian monsters. In Egypt the sphynx was an emblem of the rising sun.

Plate XXIV. of Dr. Wright’s book gives the figures at Boghaz Keui from Perrot. The goddesses are on the right in skirts and in square bonnets, not unlike those now worn at Bethlehem by women; the gods in short tunics on the left have tiaras. There is, however, one figure in male dress among the goddesses. Over him is *An*, and a small human figure (*lu*)—perhaps ‘male god.’ His small size shows him to be a son of the goddess. He bears a battle-axe, and has a tiara.

Two figures on the left seem also to be female. There are sixty-seven figures in all, not counting the animals.

On this monument we have also the name *An Set* (or else the hare). We know that the Hittites had goddesses (from the treaty inscription), though I have not been able to distinguish any name for goddess on the texts, unless it be *Dam* on the seals.

These deities stand on lions (like the god of Tarsus standing on his lion on the coins. This explains, perhaps, *Pak-du-lig*, 'above come lion,' or 'stand above lion,' on the seal (No. 16); while No. 15 gives the god on a lion. The curious deity at Boghaz Keui, with lions forming the body, is perhaps the prototype of the celebrated statue of the Diana of Ephesus. The winged sun, as in Assyria, occurs also at Boghaz Keui. The figures on Fig. 1 of Dr. Wright's Plate XXIV., apparently holding up the firmament, like the figure who stands on a fish on the Cappadocian cylinder holding up the sky, may be connected with the giants whom Gizdubar found when he approached the enchanted garden of the horizon by the sea. They also recall Shu, the Egyptian Atlas. As to the two figures on whose necks one deity stands, they are perhaps the 'throne-bearers' of the Deluge tablet.

It should be noted that the Altaic gods have sometimes two or four wings. It has been denied that this is an early form of symbolism. I think it is usually Zu, or Tamzu, who is so represented. The mother goddess and child, *Ama*, or *Nana* ('the mother'), are now known at Marash with the eagle, *Zu*.

The lion-headed god, mentioned in the previous pages, is also known at Eyuk; he is perhaps Nergal, who was also adored by the Phœnicians. Nergal in Phœnicia is shown slaying a fawn, like the lion-headed god of Asia Minor, mentioned in the text. This may be connected with the fawns which used to be torn in pieces in honour of the Semitic Dionysus. The god at Eyuk with a son, and with a temple in the corner (*E*, or house), I take to be Ea, with his son Silik-mulu-khi ('the doer of good to men?')—the sun. In the temple under the winged sun is what looks like a lingam and two vase-like objects, like that on Jerabis II. 1. The god who holds a temple in his hand at Boghaz Keui is perhaps the same. On page 722, Perrot figures, after Ramsay, a god with apparently *Tamzu* . . . in front. He also figures a cylinder (p. 769), apparently Assyrian, on which we find the souls of the dead behind Ea, and perhaps under the ocean waves.

Tar and *Tarku* were gods of Asia Minor, as

Professor Sayce has told us, no doubt connected with the Tar-ak of personal names, meaning, I should suppose, 'chief' or 'son,' with ak=great (or else the adjective). On another cylinder (Perrot, p. 770) we have a figure with the deer's head for *Tar* just above and behind it. On another cylinder (p. 772) we find gods above a lion, a deer, and perhaps a horse respectively, standing erect, with the cross-like emblem behind, well-known in Phœnicia; also two figures of Ea with horns, and the sacred tree and winged sun. On the next page (773) we have five gods, whose emblems are *Zu*, *Tar*, the hare, *Lig*, and a bird, perhaps the dove. The first three are male, the last two (*Lig*, and the dove) are female. *Zu* has wings and horns. *Tar* has, I think, two faces; he holds a palm, or tree. The hare-god has wings, and holds a cross and a flail. There are small emblems between, each with a proper meaning no doubt, but not easily distinguishable.

In the 'Times of Abraham,' the Rev. H. G. Tomkins shows some well-known seals, which are inscribed in Cuneiform. On one of these Istar is shown 'shining,' with rays descending, aptly illustrating our emblem *Ri*. A horned person slays a bull before her, and on one side a god stands on a winged gryphon. (No doubt this is connected with the story of Gizdubar.) On the cylinder of Naram Sin we have three gods; one

is apparently Abil, with his foot on an animal, and the water-pot by him. These excellent plates are worth comparing with the preceding, as are those in Layard's works with Cuneiform and Phœnician seals.

An interesting seal is published by the Biblical Archæological Society ('Transactions,' vol. viii., p. 130, plate), on which we find an eagle with the lozenge and star above. This seems to me a later form of the group *An-Tam-Zu*, the star taking the place of the divided circle *An*; and the sun (*Tam*) having the same shape as on the Babylonian bowl. The star is known as being the Cuneiform emblem for *An*; and this group on a seal, which has never been previously compared, so far as I know, seems to strengthen my reading considerably.

In speaking of the triangle, which I have compared with the Cypriote *Ya*, I have suggested that it may be read *Ki*, for earth. Now we have a case in Cypriote in which this emblem stands for the number *ten*. In Akkadian *Ge* is 'ten,' which goes perhaps to show that the triangle is really an emblem for 'earth.' So that the seal (Wright, Plate XVI., No. 18) reads, perhaps, '*. . . Mu Dam Ki ni ni*, or *. . . my, earth-wife of:*' Damkina being the earth goddess, wife of Ea.

There are other fragments still to be studied at

Jerabis, including a text in four lines, of which a sketch appeared in the *Graphic* (11th December, 1880). One of these is of interest. It represents a goddess with wings, naked, and with her hands on her breasts. This figure has been found in Babylonia, and in Phœnicia. I have given in 'Syrian Stone-Lore' (p. 93) a sketch from a pottery image in the same attitude, found at Gezer, but the sketch is not complete. The original figure was phallic. In India we have a goddess (Maya) in this attitude, pressing streams of milk from her breasts to nourish all creation. Apparently this is the great goddess Ama, or Na-na, 'the mother,' whom we find also at Marash with her child on her knee. She was perhaps the same as Dam ki-na, 'the earth-wife' of the heaven-god, Ea. The same figure was found also at Troy.

Professor Sayce remarks that in Hittite names the defining word is before the defined (*e.g.*, Kheta-Sira). This seems perhaps to be parallel to the Proto-Medic genitive preposed. A great many of these proper names end in S; may this not be compared with the Akkadian when we find Khammuragas, Ulam-buryas, Nazi-Murudas, Kura-indas, Nazi bugas, Burnaburyas?, which gives us also the Hittite Nazi for Prince.

As to the word *Tas* (possibly 'hero'), we

have Tassigurumas as a personal name, and Taśśuk ('hero'), and Tus-kar, 'hero' in Akkadian.

These observations all seem closely to connect Hittite and other Altaic dialects.

Just before going to press I hear from Mr. Hyde Clarke, to the effect that he first compared the Cypriote and Hamathite, and suggested the comparison with Georgian. I hope to be able to study his papers on these subjects, which I have as yet found mentioned nowhere.

NOTE ON PROFESSOR SAYCE'S CRITICISM.

IN the *Academy* of 21st May, Professor Sayce reviews 'Altaic Hieroglyphs' in a friendly spirit. The following are the points on which his opinion is favourable:

1st. That it is correct to suppose that the language of the texts cannot be Semitic, because most of them come from a region which was not Semitic, and where a Semitic language was unknown before the Persian epoch.

2nd. That the connection between Hittite and the Cypriote is now generally accepted by palæographical authorities, and that the proposed comparisons in the cases of *Ni*, *Rc*, *Ta*, *Li*, and *Te* are attractive.

3rd. That *Ni* or *Ne*, identified as a personal pronoun, is possibly correct.

4th. That the 'observation that a series of groups (of characters), followed by a single emblem, indicates a "packet," so to say, forming

one expression, is very happy.' This is especially important, because it evidently means that Professor Sayce agrees—as, indeed, appears from his former writings—in regarding the language as agglutinative. The 'packets' I do not find mentioned by any previous writer.

5th. That the observation that 'important words—nouns and verb roots—are apparently distinguished by larger emblems than the grammatical syllables prefixed or following,' is equally good.

6th. That Captain Conder has advanced the solution of the problem.

These statements show that these general principles of my proposed decipherment do not contain any radical fallacy such as should at once cause them to be dismissed by scholars as unworthy of notice.

I now turn to the points on which Professor Sayce's opinion is adverse, and which require most careful consideration on account of his well-known familiarity both with Akkadian and also with the Hittite question.

1st. He regards the character *Me* on the Hittite bilingual as signifying 'four.' It certainly represents four strokes, but I see no reason for doubting its being a plural. In Cuneiform the number four consists of four strokes, but arranged in double line two and two, not all

in one line, as in the present case (Sayce's 'Assyr. Grammar,' No. 441). The Egyptian plural consists of only three strokes (Chabas, 'Voyage,' p. 348). As to the value *Me* for the plural in Elamite, my authority is Professor Sayce himself ('Trans. Bib. Arch. Soc.,' vol. iii., p. 478). If the language is Altaic the four strokes as a rule can hardly stand for a numeral, because they are suffixed.

2nd. Professor Maspero is said to have proved Kamru to be the Hittite word for house, on account of the attached determinative in Egyptian; and Makur for sky, also written Mâkhir, according to Mr. Tomkins. The first word, however, has been otherwise read Kamurupa,* the Ka being doubtful. The second is read Tamakur, and the determinative only occurs in a word not in the actual list.

3rd. Professor Sayce urges that resemblance of form alone is not sufficient to determine the connection between a Hittite and a Cypriote character. This is undoubtedly the case. My whole argument in the present work is to the effect that three elements—sound, shape, meaning—must agree in any proposed identification. To take a single comparison: *Te* or *De* means to 'grow' in Akkadian; the Cypriote *Te* agrees in form with

* I do not find Kamru in Professor Sayce's list of towns from the Egyptian.

the emblem of an herb on the Hittite texts, which is evidently a natural emblem for growth, and is, besides, similar to the Cuneiform emblem for life, a growing plant.

4th. Professor Sayce thinks the Tell Loh inscriptions as old as 4000 B.C., and other Cuneiform texts as well. I have tried to fix an *inferior* limit of age for the Hittite texts. They also may be much older than 2000 B.C. in all probability. Professor Sayce thinks a comparison with Cuneiform is premature. He does not, however, deny the possibility of such a connection. Certainly the discovery of further examples of the oldest Cuneiform shapes is very desirable.

5th. He says that 'from Babylonia to the Hittite region is a far cry, and the snow-shoe, like the heads with pigtails and tiaras, seems to indicate that the Hittite hieroglyphs were of native invention.' It is, however, surely a much farther cry from Babylonia to Finland and to Etruria; and if the Hittites were of the same stock with the Medes and Akkadians, the 'native invention' of their hieroglyphs agrees with my theory as to the language. The pigtails seem to be fair evidence in favour of Altaic derivation, and as to the so-called snow-shoe, or Turkish boot, it was also worn by the Etruscans—an Altaic people—and known to the Romans as the *Calceus Repandus*.

The fact that a Turanian population extended throughout Asia Minor is recognised by Lenormant. He holds that the researches of Westergaard, De Saulcy, Norris, Oppert, and Mordtmann have established the early existence in Media of a language 'closely connected on one side with the Turko-Tartar and Mongol philological branches, and on the other with the Akkadian of Chaldea' ('Magie,' p. 192). He further says: 'The kinship of geographical names and proper names of men, cited in great numbers in Assyrian inscriptions, permits of the establishment of a chain of populations of the same race with the Akkadians and with the first inhabitants of Media, which, starting from this latter country, extends in a westerly direction to the heart of Asia Minor' ('Magie,' p. 323). The whole chapter on this subject should be read, but I here only note that, following this opinion of a celebrated scholar and having regard to the physiognomy of the Hittites, I regard them as one link in the chain of these Ugric or Altaic populations.

The connection of Akkadian and Finnic word roots is established by the same great writer. Professor Isaac Taylor has proved, moreover, that the Etruscans were an Altaic race whose language presents Finnic affinities. It is therefore of high interest to compare Etruscan and Akkadian, as showing a close connection between

tribes much more widely separated than were the Hittites and the Proto-Medes. The following table is made by taking Etruscan words from Dr. Isaac Taylor's 'Etruscan Researches' and comparing them with Akkadian terms given by Sayce and Lenormant, and with Hittite words from Egyptian inscriptions. The comparison with Akkadian has already been made by Dr. Isaac Taylor in the cases marked T. The comparison of religions, customs, physiognomy, and other peculiarities cannot here be given in full, as a paper on the subject would occupy many pages.

ETRUSCAN.	AKKADIAN.	HITTITE.
1. Acca—'great,' 'old.'	Akku—'great;' Agga—strong.'	
2. Ager—'field.'	Kir—'enclosure.'	Kir—'enclosure.'
3. Al—'belonging to.'	T. Li—'to.'	Li—'to.'
4. An—participle.	Mun, Van — participle.	
5. Arbi-ter—'lot-judge.'	Tar, Tur—'judge,' 'chief.'	Tar—'chief.'
6. Arno—'river.'	Aria—'river.'	Aria—'river.'
7. Atr—'hall.'	Tir—'seat.'	Atir—'house' (?).
8. Burra—'red.'	Bar—'bright,' 'fiery.'	
9. Cære—'town.'	Kir, Kar—'fortress.'	Kir, Kar—'fort.'
10. Druna—'royalty.'	Dur—'prince.'	Tur (?).
11. Enna—'person.'	Ni, Na—'he.'	Ni or Ne—'he.'
12. Eth—'here.'	It or At—'at.'	It—'at.'
13. Etera—'young.'	Tur—'young.'	
14. Falæ—'mountains.'	T. (common Altaic word).	Pil, Pal—'hill.'
15. Kahati—'violent.'	Gug, Gig, Gik—'violent,' 'much.'	
16. Kan—'image.'	Ka—'face.'	
17. Ken—'this.'	Gan—'this.'	Kan (?)—'this.'
18. Ki—'two.'	Kas—'two.'	Kas—'two.'
19. Lar—'Lord.'	Lul, Rar—'lord.'	Ler—p.n.
20. Lasa—'fate.'	Laz—'a goddess.'	

ETRUSCAN.	AKKADIAN.	HITTITE.
21. Lem-ur—'spirits.'	Lamma—'genius.'	
22. Laukan—'prince.'	Lu-gal—'prince'(?).	
23. Ma—'land.'	Ma—'land.'	Ma—'land.'
24. Ma—'I.'	Mu—'I.'	Mo—'I.'
25. Mi—'I am.'	T. Ma, Me, Mi—'be.'	
26. Na—'of.'	Na—'of.'	Ni or Ne—'of.'
27. Penates, Pan— 'spirits.'	Cf. Pani-dimri (Su- sian god).	
28. Phanu—'fane.'	Apin—'town.'	Ban, Apin—'town.'
29. Senna—'man.'	Sun (cf. Sunki and Sunkuk).	Sunna—p.n.
30. Sak—'daughter.'	T. Sak—'son' (Su- sian).	
31. Suth—'burn.' }		Set, Sutekh.
32. Seth—'fire.' }		"
33. Tages—'giver.'	Tug—'gift.'	
34. Tarquin—'king.'	Tar or Tur—'chief.'	Tarku, Tarkhu }
	Khu and Khan— 'prince.'*	Tarak, Taruk }
35. Teke—'give.'	Tuk—'give.'	Tarkon, p.n. }
36. Tapa—'hills.'	T. (common Altaic word).	Thep—'hill.'
37. Tez—'suppliant.'	Te—'adore.'	
38. Tora—'little.'	Tur—'young.'	
39. Tular—'tombs.'	Dul—'tumulus.'	
40. Thup—'engrave.'	Dub—'split,' 'sculp- ture.'	
41. Ul—'child.'	Ul—'male;' Ru— 'man.'	Ru or Lu—'man.'
42. Vel, Vol—'town.'	Alu, Ur—'city.'	Aur—'town.'
43. Za—'four.'	T. Za—'four.'	

This list, which might be extended, is perhaps sufficient to show the connection between Akkadian and Etruscan, and also the existence of similar sounds in Hittite which can, without any difficulty, be shown to give good sense in connection with their occurrence. Now, the Etruscans, as

* In Akkadian also, Kan=prince, T. B. A., iii., p. 503 (and also Kha and Khun). This is the Tatar Kan=prince, no doubt connected with Khan for prince in Akkadian, Turkish, etc.

Dr. Taylor shows, were akin to Lycians, Lydians, and Carians ('Etruscan Researches,' p. 38), and the Carian and Lycian syllabaries were of common origin with the Cypriote, so that this comparison again tends to strengthen the position as regards the Hittites.

The list which Professor Sayce has drawn up of names in Asia Minor and Northern Mesopotamia, also serves to justify the statement by Lenormant regarding the Turanian population of this region. Many words seem to be Altaic, such as Gamgam, Numma, etc., among geographical and ethnical terms; Khanu, Tarkhulara, Tarkhu-nazi, etc., among royal names. Probably the existence of such an element would not be disputed even if Alarodian languages must also be considered to contribute to the translation. As regards the Hittite words derivable from Egyptian texts, we have Tar, Tark, Sar, Tur, Tatar, Essebu, Ak (or Uk) and Nazi, all Altaic terms for prince, or ruler, or hero, all known, moreover, in Akkadian, and Senna and Lar, which are recoverable from Etruscan. We have also Ma, A, Ab, Ai, Aur, Atir, Amar, Asā, Au, Aun, Bil, Pal, Gar, Kar, Kir, Kat, Kiz (or Giz), Nim, Bat Sak, Su, Tar, Ta, Theb, Zain, and a good many others among the geographical words, all of which, in Akkadian and cognate dialects, are said to signify house, tree, hill, water, fortress, camp

mountain, desert, etc., being invariably appropriate to their occurrence—as I have shown, in part, in the text of the present work, and hope hereafter to show more completely. It appears to me, on this evidence, impossible not to recognise that the Hittites were an Altaic race, and this renders the comparison of the supposed Hittite texts with Akkadian and Proto-Medic inscriptions a very natural method of study.

The comparison with Etruscan, and the fact that so many ancient words—common to many dialects of the Finnic and Turkic groups of Ugro-Altaic speech—have remained unchanged to the present day, appears to me, perhaps, to meet Professor Sayce's objection that 'It is not likely that we should discover them in a recognisable condition among distant tribes of Northern Syria and Cappadocia.' The conservatism of the Turanians is, indeed, one of their most marked characteristics: they are called '*stolidum genus*.'

6th. 'If Proto-Medic is allied to Akkadian the traces of connection are so faint, that Dr. Hommel has been able to maintain its relationship to the Alarodian or Georgian family.' Against this objection I urge the careful comparison instituted by Lenormant, who shows that in words and in structure Proto-Medic is an Altaic dialect, although, in his opinion, nearer to the Turkic

than to the Finnic branch ('Magie,' p. 315, *seq.*) Lenormant gives a list of 40 words common to Akkadian and Proto-Medic.*

7th. Professor Sayce criticises certain individual words which I have given as Akkadian. Two of these are of very great importance, because they affect the reading of the bilingual. He says generally: 'The reasons which led Captain Conder to his belief that Akkadian words are concealed under Hittite symbols were based on a misconception.' This sentence has been further explained to me through the courtesy of the author. The Akkadian words were written ideographically, and the pronunciation of only about half is, Professor Sayce thinks, at present known. In the earlier period of research the phonetic values of the ideographs were supposed to represent Akkadian words—very naturally so, and possibly, I would urge, with truth—for as regards the reading of ideographs, it is clear that they are polyphones (that is admitted by all Cuneiform scholars, I believe), and it is clear that monosyllabic words might be represented by a single emblem. The true test of pronunciation, it seems

* Professor de Lacouperie says of Akkadian and Sumerian, 'They certainly belong to the same stock as the Ugro-Finnish, Turko-Tatar and Kuenlik groups of languages; and they have branched off at a very early period previous to the modern arrangement of these groups, long before they had evolved or acquired their present distinct features.' (*Bab. Rec.*, Nov. 1886, p. 7.)

to me, is to be found by comparing these single emblems, which have a known phonetic value, with words in other Altaic languages. The fact that an emblem for 'king' may be read Anin does not exclude a reading Ku, which is the phonetic value of the emblem. Thus the emblems An-ak in Akkadian are read Nebo in Assyrian. In every case we have to ask what are the words in Finnic or Turkic dialects, and do they agree with the known phonetic value of the Akkadian ideogram? It is clear that an ideogram must have obtained a particular phonetic value from the word which it represented: the question is what was the meaning of that word, and was it a monosyllable?

'*Me* or *Ma* is not the word for country in either Akkadian or Proto-Medic. In Akkadian the word is *Mada* and *Kengi*; in Proto-Medic, *Murun*.' Now it is quite true that *Mada* and *Mat* are Akkadian words for country, and *Kengi* (Lenormant's *Kiengi*) as well. *Murun* or *Vurun* is also a Proto-Medic word for 'earth' or country, as is *Kintik*, according to Lenormant; but these facts are not of necessity irreconcilable with my statement. Lenormant gives *Ma* as Akkadian for 'country,' and Dr. Isaac Taylor compares this word as Akkadian with the Etruscan *Ma*, which he renders country. *Maa* or *Ma*, according to him, 'means "the earth" in all the Finnic languages.' Professor Sayce has given *Ma* as a sound of the emblem for country, in his

'Assyrian Grammar,' No. 291. In this connection I may note a possible objection as to the comparison of the word *Ma* with the Cypriote *Mi*. It may be objected that there is too great a divergence in the vowel sound. The Cypriote emblem in question is, however, clearly an older form of the Cypriote *Mi* or *Me*, used in the celebrated Cypriote - Phœnician bilingual. It there serves to transliterate the Semitic word *Melec* or *Malac* for 'king,' so that there is reason to suppose its true sound may have been *Me* or even *Ma*. In Carian also this emblem has the values *Mi*, *Me*, and *M*, according to Professor Sayce.

'Sceptre is not *Pa*, but *Gisdar*.' This is a less important objection, as the Altaic emblem compared is rare. The reading *Pa* is accepted by Mr. Houghton and by Dr. Taylor, and the sound by Professor Sayce ('Assyrian Grammar,' No. 222), although the words *Gisdar* and (apparently) *Gispa* are also known. Lenormant renders *Gistar* 'wood of justice.'

'*Ku* is not the Proto-Medic word for "king," which (as Oppert long ago discovered) is *Anin*.* *Ko* was confessedly a makeshift value assigned by Norris to the ideograph denoting a monarch.' This is an objection which, if it cannot be met, would be fatal to the proposed reading of the

* I have referred to this word *Anin* in the present volume, p. 133.

bilingual. It is not sufficient in this case to refer to Lenormant, who gives *Ku* for 'king' and *Kumas* for 'royalty' as Proto-Medic words; or to his reading *Ku* for 'high' in Akkadian. But there is further evidence, in Akkadian, of the possible existence of this word *Ku* meaning 'king.' The late H. F. Talbot, F.R.S., in a valuable paper on 'Four New Syllabaries' ('Trans. Bib. Arch. Soc.,' vol. iii., pp. 496-529), gives special attention to the emblem which has the phonetic value *Cu* or *Ku*. He says (p. 523): '*Us* and *Ku* also mean king—see No. 159 for *Ku* in this sense;' and (p. 521) *Ku* is equated in the syllabary in question with the Assyrian *Rubû*, 'a king or lord.' It will not be denied, and Professor Sayce himself admits, that the sign in question was used in Akkadian with the phonetic value *Cu* ('Assyrian Grammar,' No. 462). It is, to say the least, a remarkable coincidence if the emblem for king has the phonetic value *Cu* in Akkadian, and if the emblem for king has the phonetic value *Ko* in Hittite; and, again, that the words *Khu*, *Kha*, *Khan*, *Kan*, occur in the names of Hittite or other Altaic monarchs. We have *Khan* in Turkic, and *Khan* and *Kan* in Siberian and Hunnic; *Kun* or *Quin* in Etruscan; *Kiun*, 'king,' and *Koue*, 'kingdom,' in Chinese; *Kan* in Koibal and Karagass Tatar ('Etruscan Researches,' pp. 79, 323). That *Kha* and *Kan*, *Ku* and *Kun*, may be the same

word with a suffixed 'n' will not, I think, be disputed.

In addition to this evidence we have the word *Ak* for 'king' equated in the same syllabary above mentioned (No. 521), with *Bilu*, the Semitic word for 'lord.' Mr. Talbot says (p. 521): '*Ak* meant a lord . . . another word for a king was *Uk*, apparently related to *Ak*. There is no question that the emblem *Ak* had that phonetic value. It appears to me, therefore, that there is some evidence to justify the supposition that *Ak*, *Uk*, and *Ku* may be old Altaic words for 'king,' no doubt connected with *Kū*, 'high;' *Aka*, 'to exalt;' *Acca*, 'to raise;' *Ega* or *Aga*, which Professor Sayce renders 'crown' ('Trans. Bib. Arch. Soc.,' vol. i., p. 306); and perhaps with *Akku* or *Ukku*, 'great,' and *Agga*, 'strong' or 'powerful.' Of course there were many other words used to denote powerful personages both in Proto-Medic and in Akkadian. The meaning 'high' agrees with the extraordinary height of the Hittite tiaras, which I have compared with the various forms of the Cypriote *Ko* or *Ku*.*

* Among other Akkadian words for 'king,' 'chief,' 'prince,' etc., we have *Khu*, *Khun*, *Kan*, *Sar*, *Tur*, *Nazi*, *Enu*, *Anai*, *Esseb* or *Essepu*, all of which appear also in Hittite, with the Etruscan *Lar* and *Senna*. It is remarkable that in these words the ideas 'king,' 'high,' 'male,' and 'blood' are constantly connected. Thus *Us* is said to mean 'king,' 'blood,' and 'man.' *Un* or *Uwun* means 'king' and 'blood;' *Ak*, 'king,' 'high,' and 'male;' *Senna* or *Enu*, 'king,' 'person,' 'male;' *Kū*, 'king' and 'high.'

'*Khar* does not mean mountain in Akkadian.' This is less important. Lenormant renders *Kharsak Kurra*, 'mountain of the east,' and *Kharsak*, 'mountain' (*sak* meaning 'head'); *Khar* also is said to mean 'bull,' and there are other words, such as *Kur* and *Nat*, rendered 'mountain.'

'There is a "real distinction" between the sounds of *l* and *r* in Akkadian.' My meaning is perhaps not clear in the original text. There are, it seems, Akkadian words in *L* which have synonyms in *R*. See, for instance, Professor Sayce—'*l* and *r* being interchanged, as in Lagamar and Lagamal' ('Trans. Bib. Arch. Soc.,' vol. iii., p. 475).

'*Kakama* is not the Akkadian word for Amen, but an ideographic mode of writing *erimma*, afterwards contracted to *ri*.' *Ca-ca-ma* is, however, a phonetic sound of the word for 'conclusion' ('Trans. Bib. Arch. Soc.,' vol. vi., p. 427), according to Lenormant and Mr. Budge, M.R.A.S., and would apparently mean 'cause be.'

'*Sa*, and not *ua*, means "and." The latter sound is given as Akkadian by Lenormant ('Trans. Bib. Arch. Soc.,' vol. vi., p. 367) with the value 'and.' The emblem is rendered *va* by Professor Sayce ('Assyrian Grammar,' No. 339). M. Bertin tells me that the reading *sa* is considered doubtful.

In connection with the question of sound, it may be noted that the Altaic hieroglyphics may,

like the Cuneiform emblems, have been polyphonus—as Professor Sayce has already proposed to assume. The Cypriote, perhaps, only gives one out of several possible sounds; but the sounds so given agree, it seems to me, with the phonetic values of emblems in Akkadian having the same ideographic value.

8th. ‘The Cypriote character read *Zu* by Captain Conder has been shown by Dr. Deecke to have the value *Nos*.’ As regards this symbol, that identified by Dr. Deecke as *Nos* is not exactly the same as that which—following Professor Sayce’s rendering—I have compared with *Zu* (cf. ‘Proceedings Soc. Bib. Arch.,’ May, 1884, pp. 213, 220; November, 1884, p. 37). There is a difficulty about these new forms from Abydos that their reading is still conjectural, not being controlled by a bilingual. It is quite possible that this Cypriote comparison—the only one challenged as yet out of thirty—may be doubtful. The general grammatical character of the emblem on the Hittite texts rests, however, partly on Professor Sayce’s own determination.

9th. ‘The inscriptions such as he would make them out to be would be unique in the ancient world. It is only after the beginning of the Mohammedan period that pious addresses to the deity take the place of texts in which the king plays a prominent part.’

This sentence I do not understand. I supposed that in general character the inscriptions, as I would render them, recalled very closely the Akkadian magic tablets. They are not, in my belief, pious addresses, but talismans to protect the buildings. In Egyptian temples we have somewhat similar texts accompanying pictures. Chapters of the magic 'Book of the Dead' occur on sarcophagi. The Babylonian bowl Professor Sayce himself considers to have a votive text upon it. I believe that talismans written on walls or on bandages tied to the person of the sick are probably older than historical texts. Such charms on boundary-stones seem to be indicated in the Akkadian inscriptions (cf. 'Magie,' p. 42). Images of the gods were placed at the doors of houses (W. A. I., iv., 21, 1; 'Magie,' p. 45); and it appears that inscriptions accompanied them. All early tribes have made use of such inscribed talismans.

'Considering that one of the inscriptions from Jerablus environs the figure of a king or warrior, it would be strange to find it containing only a prayer to the Chief God of Fire.' But is not it a conjecture that the figure in question is to be regarded as simply human? The head is lost, but in general character the figure resembles those at Boghaz Keui, which Professor Sayce regards as representing deities.

Moreover, in J. IV. (Wright, Plate XI.) we have a text accompanying a winged figure. The figure at Ibriz is recognised as a deity, though without wings. At Boghaz Keui we have two winged figures and a long text. We know that the Akkadians made statues of their gods; and finally, we find little that seems to suggest a geographical or historical sense in the inscriptions. Such renderings as have been proposed for the Hamath stones seem to me highly improbable. Historical texts should contain records of events (see p. 239) not merely the formula 'says so and so,' followed by his saying nothing at all.

10th. Dr. Deecke's 'discovery of Cypriote characters in the inscriptions copied at Abydos, which denote syllables beginning and ending with a consonant,' I had already gathered from Professor Sayce's own note on the subject. What I intended to be understood in the text (p. 28) was that the known characters in the Cypriote texts—numbering about fifty or sixty characters—represent the survival of forms with only one consonant. The Asianic syllabary first used by non-Aryan, non-Semitic (possibly Altaic) tribes of Lycia and Caria was probably larger than the later Cypriote syllabary, and we may expect, and should be most grateful for, the determination of forms with two consonants, if their value can be demonstrated by bilinguals or otherwise.

I have thus considered every statement in Professor Sayce's article, I hope with due attention. While encouraged by his good opinion on certain points, I confess I do not feel shaken in my belief, unless it be as to the value *Zu*, which in the Abydos texts is as yet conjectural.

To sum up the results of criticism so far :

1. It is admitted that the language is agglutinative and that 'packets' occur—a fact never before indicated by any other author as far as I can ascertain. It might therefore be admitted that it is an error to look for the verb as preceding the subject and the object.

2. It is not denied that the Hittites may have been an Altaic people.

3. It is not denied that phonetic values may be obtained from Cypriote, or that there is a possible connection between Hittite and Cuneiform, and the fact that Akkadian emblems were polyphones might account for Professor Sayce's criticism of certain words. It is a question of comparative study of ancient and living Altaic languages.

4. No exception has been taken to the evidence as to language afforded by the names of Hittite princes and Hittite towns. This, to my mind, is an indication of the Altaic origin of the tribe which is worthy of consideration.

5. It is impossible that the language could have been *sui generis*. The Georgian comparison

has not been shown to produce any particular result. Nothing but an Altaic comparison seems to remain.

6. Scepticism is very useful, and no doubt there will be much to modify hereafter; but as at present advised, I think the general conclusions may yet work their way into general acceptance.

REMARKS ON CERTAIN POINTS.

Page 40. As regards *Ni*, it should be stated that Professor Sayce has given an opinion in support of his change of comparison from *Ne* to *e* (see Wright, p. 190), though I still think his original identification is the true one.

Page 45. The emblems representing grammatical forms no doubt also originally were pictorial. Thus, as regards *Li*, the Chinese use *li* as a 'locative sign,' its original meaning being 'inside' ('Science of Language,' p. 364). *Li* is represented by an arch not very different from the emblem for the vault of heaven (Plate I., No. 14). It may, perhaps, represent the section or entrance to a primitive hut or tent formed by a wooden hoop or arch. *Sa*, again, appears to be a sword or knife with curved point like the *herpe*, and *Sa* or *Sch* in many Altaic dialects means a cutting instrument ('Etruscan Researches,' p. 385). The original meaning of *Ni* as 'male' has been explained in the text (p. 41), and in Akkadian

we have *Nit*, 'male,' and in Etruscan *enna*, 'person.'

Page 59. Perhaps the correct comparison for the emblem *A* is the egg-shaped Cypriote character *Ya*. It is conceivable that this emblem (like the Cuneiform *A*) may be used phonetically for the sound *A* only, forming participles, etc.

Page 77. As regards the preposed genitive, this is apparently recognised in Akkadian also, as in *Ma-ir*, 'city of the ship;' *Zu-ab*, 'abode of wisdom,' etc.

Page 85. The Etruscan gives us possibly the true derivation of the name of the god *Set*, *Sut* or *Sutech*. In Etruscan *Seth-lans* is the 'Fire god' (a preposed genitive), and *Suth* meant 'to burn.' Dr. Isaac Taylor compares the Hungarian *sut*, 'fireplace;' Ostiak *tut*, 'fire;' Basque *su*, 'fire' ('Etruscan Researches,' pp. 140 and 214). In Egypt *Set* was red-coloured, and connected with sunset and with the fiery infernal region. As regards the aspirated form *Sutekh*, it may be compared with Akkadian aspirates, as *Nit* and *Nitakh* = male.

Page 100. As regards the Cuneiform emblem for 'mountain,' I see that Professor Sayce has already compared it with a primitive hieroglyphic of three cones (Wright, p. 170). Compare the Egyptian emblem (Plate IV., No. 9; V., No. 5).

Page 117. The statement from the beginning

of the paragraph to the words "by the Malay" does not represent the opinion of Professor de Lacouperie, but of Lenormant. I am requested to say that the first authority does not agree with this opinion. In 'Etruscan Researches' Dr. Isaac Taylor has developed the idea of a Finnic or Altaic element in ancient Egypt. There appear to be a good many Altaic words in the Egyptian language, just as there are also many Semitic words. This evidence, which cannot here be fully given, agrees with the common origin of the Egyptian and Cuneiform systems of hieroglyphic in rendering an ideographic comparison of Hittite and Egyptian legitimate. It may yet prove that Altaic tribes migrated very early into Egypt. The theory agrees with the Bible and with Herodotus, and is gaining ground rapidly. Some of the Egyptian mythical tales are identical with versions found among Turanian peoples and in India, and I think there is good reason to suppose that many of the names of the Egyptian gods as well as Set might be of Altaic origin.

Page 142. As regards the Basque, it should be noted that Dr. Isaac Taylor regards it as Euskaric, not Altaic. Lenormant has, however, connected it with Akkadian.

Page 143. I learn from Professor de Lacouperie that he has established by papers first published in May, 1880, a derivation of the oldest Chinese

writing from a cursive style of the Cuneiform, and that this has been accepted. He dates the development about 2500 B.C. I notice that in Chinese 'Sun under tree' means dark, 'Sun over tree,' light (Taylor's 'Alphabet,' vol. i., p. 27). Compare what is said in the present text about the dawn tree (p. 89), and Renouf's paper ('Trans. Bib. Arch. Soc.,' vol. viii., Part II., pp. 217-220).

Page 241. The sphinx, as a religious emblem, was common to the Etruscans as well as to Cappadocians and Egyptians. The double-headed celt or axe, which is held by the young god at Boghaz Keui, is also the same weapon as held by Seth-lans, the Etruscan Fire god, on the mirror representing the birth of the dawn. It perhaps shows us that the god at Boghaz Keui is Set as the Sun and Fire god, the son of Ea. The two-headed eagle was common also to Etruscans and Cappadocians; as was the two-headed god (Janus) to Etruscans, Lydians, and Babylonians (see p. 85).

Page 244. Tar and Tarku, the gods of Asia Minor, may be compared with the Esthonian Tara, 'god' (see 'Etruscan Researches,' p. 124), and perhaps with Dara, the name of the Akkadian god Ea.

HITTITE MANNERS AND CUSTOMS.

THE Altaic or North Turanian derivation of the Hittites would render it probable that the following peculiarities may be found to have existed among them and among other Canaanites :

1st. A sturdy, large-limbed, large-headed type, with black hair, no beard, high cheek-bones, short nose, black eyes set obliquely.

2nd. An agglutinative language, with very imperfect range of ideas.

3rd. An Animistic creed, recognising a living spirit as the cause of every phenomenon of nature.

4th. The use of talismans, bound to the limbs, hung to the neck, carved on walls, attached to buildings, etc.

5th. The adoration of ancestral spirits haunting temples or chambers where they were propitiated.

6th. The original custom of burning the dead instead of burying.

7th. The custom of polyandry, and the consequent tracing of family from the mother, not from the father.

8th. The custom of exogamy, or marrying individual wives from other tribes, as in the case of Esau.

9th. The *couvade*, or bedding of the father of a new-born child to ensure the thriving of the infant.

10th. An artistic genius, and love of colour, paintings, and ceramic or metal work.

These points are all fairly distinctive of Turanian races, as far as one race can be distinguished from another.

THE END.

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